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ABSTRACT

A collection of 21 papers, most presented at the Fifth International Conference on Contrastive Projects in June 1982 in Finland, includes: "Searching for Linguistic Universals through Contrastive Analysis," "Oral Discourse and Contrastive Analysis: Towards a French vs. Finno-Scandinavian Model," "Cultural Effect on the Comprehensibility of Reading Texts," "The Application of Some Parameters of Textlinguistics on Contrastive Analysis," "The Influence of the First Language: An Analysis of Learners' Questions," "Questioning Strategies in English and Swedish Conversation," "Pragmatic Equivalence in Contrastive Studies: Requests in Polish and English," "Giving and Getting Directions: Cross-Language Interaction Between Native and Finnish Speakers of English," "A Pragmatic Account of Proper Names in English and Polish," "A Functional Model for the Description of Modality in Contrastive Analysis," "Pragmatic Aspects of Definite Determination Without 'Prior Mention' in English and Polish," "Prepositional Usage in English and Afrikaans: Differences in Spatial Perception," "Remarks on Pronominal Reference and Definiteness in French and Finnish," "Emphasis and Ellipsis," "The Object in German and English According to Dependency Grammar: A Contrastive Analysis," "English Loanwords in Estonian," "English Loanwords in Romanian," "On Lexis: The Swedish Learner and the Native Speaker Compared," "The Semantics of 'Average' and 'Competitor': Two Instances of Dizzy Business or Busy Dizziness," "Chain Compounds--Anglicisms in Finnish?", and "Aspects of Perception in Learning Second Language Vowel Quality." (MSE)

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No 10

CROSS-LANGUAGE ANALYSIS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Volume 2

edited by
Kari Sajavaara

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PREFACE

Most of the papers which are published in Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies 9 and 10 were presented at the Fifth International Conference on Contrastive Projects entitled "Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition". The conference was held at Jyväskylä on June 1-5, 1982. A number of the conference papers have been published in a special issue on cross-language analysis and second language acquisition of Applied Linguistics (Volume 4, Number 3) and in Finlance: the Finnish Journal of Language Learning and Language Teaching (Volume 2). Both were published in 1983.

Some of the papers included in the two volumes were not read at the conference; they come from various contexts, eg. Finnish Summer Schools of Linguistics, or are based on research carried out in Jyväskylä.

Jyväskylä
November, 1983

K.S.

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SEARCHING FOR LINGUISTIC UNIVERSALS THROUGH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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Now why didn't they invent a way to adjust these rostrums to people's different heights? - Had someone answered that question not only would the rest of the audience have been surprised, but I, too, would have been taken aback. The utterance posed had no real *intention* of being a question. From the point of view of discourse analysis, the function of that syntactic question form was merely to gain an immediate approving audience reaction.

Before proceeding further, a common agreement on what constitutes a rhetorical question is necessary. Most dictionaries define the term "rhetoric" first as 'the art of speaking or writing effectively'; then secondary derogatory definitions draw on lexical items like 'false, insincere, empty or superficial, not clear.' A subsidiary definition of rhetoric in Webster's dictionary states that it may be considered as solely "verbal communication", that is, a part of "discourse". Webster's goes on to define the rhetorical question as: "a question asked merely for effect with no answer expected." Why, then, is it classified as a question if no answer is expected? The American Heritage Dictionary adds: "...or to which only one answer may be made." Is that sufficient to warrant a question classification when the *only* answer possible is one already known by the questioner? It does appear that we have come upon a classic case of "clothes not making the man." Just because words appear syntactically arranged or inflected as a question, this does not necessarily mean that the utterance must be considered a question. This is the issue that I have undertaken to explain by studying examples of rhetorical questions in English and Italian.

If we are ready to accept the definition of a question as "an expression of inquiry that invites or calls for a reply...a subject or point open to controversy; an unsettled issue..."[1] then the rhetorical question cannot be considered a question because there is never a real query made or else there is no doubt as to the one and only reply possible. Furthermore, a question mark is, Heritage declares, the

[1] *American Heritage Dictionary*, 1976, p. 1070.

punctuation symbol used to indicate a direct question. How can we allow the contents of a rhetorical question to be classified as anything but an *in*direct speech act? As Doris Graber puts it in *Verbal Behavior and Politics*, there are manifest messages and there are instrumental symbol statements which evoke latent meanings. "Understanding of the latent meanings usually requires insight into the context in which the verbalization has occurred."[1] The instrumentally-formed message "must be inferred from the form, context and paralinguistic features"[2] and may carry attitudinal messages not at all apparent from the face value of the words that make up the utterance.

From ancient Greek and Roman times we know that rhetoric has been universally considered a skill in the effective use of *speech*. I have endeavored to analyse the deep structure of the rhetorical question in order to pin-point its use in modern English and Italian. From a corpus of 82 English and 82 Italian newspaper editorials, Letters to the Editor, reviews and editorial-like articles, I compared the forms, frequency, distribution and functions of the rhetorical questions present.[3] It is pertinent here to remember that the subject-verb inversion that may occur in English is not an Italian feature.

Of interest to language teachers is the fact that, in both languages, the most significant single feature that carries the function load of rhetorical questions appears to be intonation. A few examples:

See What Snow Can Do?	Serve un'idea?
By sleight-of-hand?	Ricordate il vaiolo?
A French Watergate, then?	Si vogliono coprire aree di evasione?

The second most important feature is syntactic incompleteness, such as:

Apocalypse Saturday or now?	E allora?
Why not enforce carpools?	E il PCI?
So what?	Pronti a che cosa?
And what sort?	Ma come?
But how much?	In esilio?

[1] D.A. Graber, *Verbal Behavior and Politics*, Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1976, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[3] For a more complete treatment with charts see G.I. Anzilotti, "The Rhetorical Question as an Indirect Speech Device in English and Italian", in *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Winter 1982, pp. 290-302.

A meltdown?
Helmetless, or headless, motorcyclists?
A ship for Washington?
Compulsory physical education?

Da quali parti estere?
Verità o balla?

And just how much attention do we as teachers devote to question intonation and incomplete utterances? The obvious answer: very little, makes that, too, a rhetorical question.

In searching for language universals, I thought, what better vehicle to study than Papal encyclicals which have a multiple-language genesis, written as they are to be understood and related to by perhaps the largest number of ethnic groups ever called upon to consider the same document. If we observe the present Pope John Paul's first encyclical, "Redemptor Hominis", scrupulously careful planning is apparent. There is a geometrical balance of question dosage throughout the four parts: 4 rhetorical questions apiece in Parts I and IV, eleven apiece in Parts II and III; together with 3 information questions asked in Part I, a highly significant total of 33 questions are included in this encyclical.

The central topic of the Pope's message is introduced succintly by the simple question: "Do you accept?" The entire document is devoted to the answer to this question, and why the Pope reached his decision.

When, at point 6 of Part I, Pope John Paul feels that a change of pace and an attention-rouser is needed to keep the interest of his readers, he adeptly elicits participation by drawing them to identify personally with him by asking: "What shall I say of all the initiatives that have sprung from the new ecumenical orientation?" That is, 'listen to what I have to say about these new developments that have sprung up around me.' Near the close of the following paragraph he recalls the last question posed in the preceding one: "Have we the right to run this risk?" by now asking: "Have we the right not to do it?" This forces the reader/listener mentally to connect the present question with the one before, thereby achieving active mental participation.

Part II, point 7, starts vigorously with a cluster of 3 questions: "How? In what manner shall we continue? What should we do...?" These direct appeals to his readers gain the effect of identification with the problems the Pope must face; that is, empathy towards himself and belief in his earnestness. Further along, he recalls the disciple Peter's apropos question, which is nothing but a statement of comment: "Lord, to whom shall we go?" in fact declares: 'There is no one else we can

turn to; you alone have words of eternal life.' Point 8 continues to draw the reader closer to the Pope through the use of two successive questions: "Are we not convinced of...the creation that 'was subjected to futility?'" Does not...progress...reveal...that manifold subjection 'to futility?' A repetition of words, a repetition of concepts, a repetition of questions: all marks of a competent teacher who is emphasizing, reinforcing and requesting agreement through negative affirmation. The unifying thread is further pulled by having the paragraph end with a further negative affirmative-seeking question: "...is it not also the world...that 'waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God?'" In Point 12 of Part II, questions again serve to stimulate the reader's attention. The same basic premise in a triad of questions is reiterated in order to underline the importance of the message.

Part III moves along smoothly until Point 15, "What Modern Man is Afraid of." The fact that seven questions are contained in it indicates the highly emotional quality of the topic, calling for as much direct participation of the reader as possible if the Pope's policies and programs are to be accepted and carried out. The first query is a lengthy and pondered one; two paragraphs later, two further questions act as hammer-beats on the conscience: "Does this progress...make human life on earth 'more human'...? Does it make it more 'worthy of man'?" The next paragraph ends with four consecutive questions, all concerning the basic point which he has been developing in this section. By repeating much the same concept seven times in question form, the Pope has reassured himself that the parts he wanted to emphasize were sure to come across.

Points 16 and 17 contain three single questions which definitely focus attention:

> "Who is man?
> Has this process been decisively curbed?
> And what social...program could renounce this description?"

The Pope feels his audience even though he is writing and wants to make sure that his "listeners" keep following him by drawing their attention, using the most direct means possible, the syntactic question which is typically most frequent in oral discourse.

In Part IV, Point 18, the Pope again attains variety of tempo by asking and immediately answering two questions;

> "Can it be said that the church is not alone in making this

appeal? Yes it can...
Is not this confirmed by...the unity of all mankind?"

Although not universally present, the majority of rhetorical questions in the newspaper articles contained a strong negative component with which one must contend, either explicitly or implicitly, such as: 'Ethics? In the press gallery?' Even though there are no negative markers in this question cluster, the underlying semantic value is definitely a negative attitude/comment. Some form of opposition to something positive is often the rule. Thus, the predominantly negative opinions voiced in the newspaper articles had led me to read an almost inherent negative component into rhetorical questions; the Pope's encyclical disposed of this view. His choice of lexical items demonstrates an underlying positive character to his message, and therefore, also to his rhetorical questions.[1] He is not concerned with negative aspects, much less with sarcasm. However, it must be said that the encyclical often employs a negative marker somewhat as appears in a tag question; that is, to make the "listener" unconsciously agree with the purpose of the question. In effect, the Pope frequently offers up his interpretation of a fact in the form of a negative question in order to win acceptance of his message. It appears reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the rhetorical question works just as effectively within the framework of a positive approach as within a negative one.

This example of well thought-out political strategy demonstrates how refined persuasive arguments may be introduced by questions and used to shape the will to identify with and rally behind someone's line of thought. An accomplished teacher, the Pope knows the value,

[1] An analysis shows an overwhelming majority of positive items. A sampling by word category are:

Verbs: accept, say, reveal, make, convince, be born, come, bear, give, manifest, become, project, attain, prevail, dominate, favor.

Nouns: sons, progress, man, dominion, world, people, spirit, power, beginning, earth, whole, initiative, road, right, trust, centuries, grace, belief, followers, religions, truth, church, principles, advent, words, creation, revelation, God, life, humanity, conquests.

Adjectives: new, human, firm, visible, mystical, moral, ethical, approaching, everlasting, eloquent, eager, immense, manifold, continuous, understandable, various, present-day, every, worthy, essential, better, mature, aware, responsible, open, good, social, authentic, legitimate.

Adverbs: spiritually, far, often, overpoweringly, together, especially, more, most, truly, decisively.

and applies the technique, of inductive teaching. He fully appreciates the efficacy of a repeated question as an instructive device. And he does not often furnish the answer outright; it is his use of well-timed questions that leads his "disciples" into understanding the answers, through thought sequences that he has carefully plotted out.

Pope John Paul's manipulation of the syntactic question demonstrates his intimacy with the art of public speaking and his ability to hold the attention of his audience. He is also aware how questions universally help to break the communication barrier[1] between the writer and the reader by adding a certain touch of informality to a serious, lengthy, profound exposition. The Pope's intentional, contemplated use of the question has linked together his problems, his arguments, his pleas; they have served as a unifying ligament. The Encyclical would have been wanting in personal appeal had the questions been omitted in this masterpiece of international oratory.

The study of the question formations that appear in its English translation is significant for the strong presence of modals and auxiliaries as question formers: of the 33 questions present only 10 use WH-words, the rest being formed by *do/can* and *be/have*. This fact is of great pertinence to English language teachers because the role that modals play in English as question formers has not yet been fully appreciated, or, at least, satisfactorily taught. More study in this direction would help to clarify many linguistic and psycholinguistic ramifications.

We have seen how rhetorical questions are usually considered as empty, or superficial. My circumscribed study of the subject brings forth the very opposite conclusion. They are anything but superficial: the only thing superficial is the form, but the intention behind them goes into the deep structure of the utterances. While the rhetorical question does not request information, it does appeal for some type of agreement, of a positive or a negative sort. Not only is there an underlying affirmative or imperative impact, but the utterance also requires outside confirmation or execution to be "felicitous" in J.L. Austin's sense.[2]

[1] Robert Lado deeply impresses the importance of breaking the communication barrier in his teaching methodology classes at Georgetown University.

[2] J.L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1965, pp. 14-17.

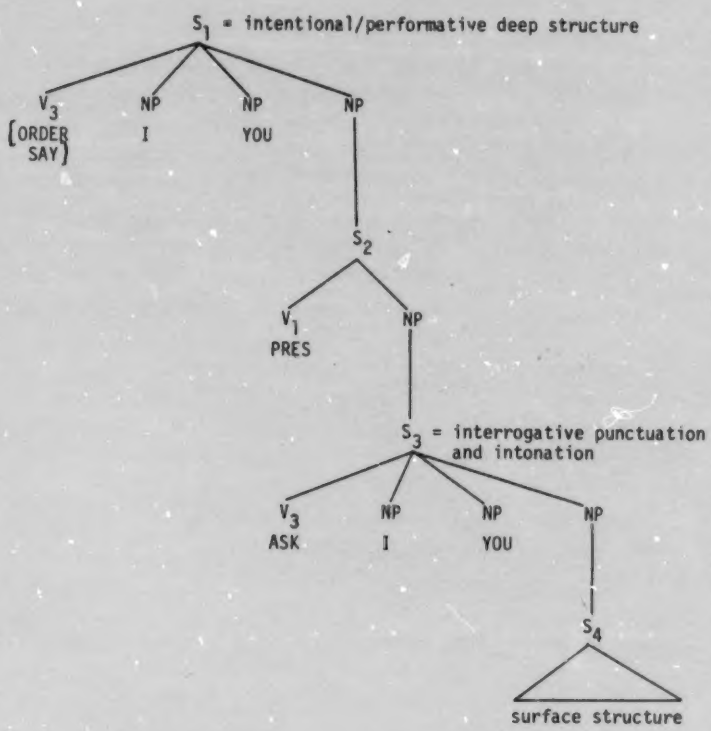
Some form of agreement or execution must take place or else the utterance goes limp. It may, therefore, justifiably be considered a performative verb in function. If, in the context of Generative Semantics, we hold that the highest performative stratum of the Logical Structure contains the appropriate action verb *intended* as the function of the surface structure, we may then postulate that the underlying performative verbal force qualifies and pervades the entire utterance, in spite of the sum total of the semantic meanings of its constituent parts. With this in mind, the Logical Structure of the rhetorical question: 'Chilly, isn't it?' meaning: 'Close that window, goof!' could appear with the two semantic propositions at its highest levels as represented in Figure 1.

By accounting for this particular type of construction with the above Logical Structure, the syntax of the utterance is explained and it no longer overrides the semantic representation. The S_1 intentional level cannot appear in grammatical tree diagrams because it belongs to the problem-solving subsystem of the brain and therefore has no part in the linguistic subsystem which is language-specific.[1] Owing to the predisposition of the underlying performative verb, however, the word order has been influenced, and this may well account for the high number of questions based on orthography or intonation alone in our examples. Thus, the rhetorical question, in English and Italian, and perhaps in many more languages, may be considered a pragmatic tool for achieving a complete communicative experience. Just as in discourse, the experience shared is carried out by a cooperative effort.

What started out as a simple exercise in taxonomy has led to a discussion of what may be considered universal linguistic properties in at least two languages. Indeed, it must be admitted, with Robert Di Pietro, that "the grammar of individual languages must contribute, in some way, to the grammatical theory of all languages."[2] Two of the ten recommendations made by the Federation internationale de professeurs de langues vivantes in 1968: (1) that contrastive analysis should be undertaken with primary regard to theoretical implications, and (2) that it should be undertaken beyond the sentence level into discourse structure,

[1] The notions of two distinct cognitive subsystems operating in adult learners was exhaustively developed by Sascha Felix in his paper "More Evidence for Competing Cognitive Structures" given at the "Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition" International Conference on Contrastive Analysis Projects held at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, June 1-5, 1982.

[2] R.J. Di Pietro, *Language Structures in Contrast*, Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, Mass., 1978, p. 3.



On S_4: ----------

On S_3: 1) Optional Verb Deletion
2) " Subject Raising Rules
3) " Equi-NP Deletion Rules
4) Obligatory Interrogative Intonation Insertion

On S_2: Tense Incorporation

On S_1: 1) Performative Deletion
2) Lexical Intention Incorporation: (Close the window!)

Often no post-cyclic V-NP inversion

Figure 1. The logical structure of the rhetorical question 'Chilly, isn't it?' meaning 'Close that window, goof!'.

and on the sociocultural and psycholinguistic levels[1]----have been applied in this study. There is much to be gained by probing the subject of contrastive pragmatic forms. The fact that the rhetorical question has been used for pragmatic purposes by such widely-differing sources as English and Italian newspaper editional writers, a Pope and a linguist, Noam Chomsky, in his book title *Peace in the Middle East?* appears extremely significant and is perhaps indicative of the presence of a pragmatic language universal under the cover of rhetorical questions.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 12.

ORAL DISCOURSE AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS : TOWARDS A FRENCH vs. FINNO-SCANDINAVIAN (SWEDISH/FINNISH/LAPPISH) MODEL

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THEMATIC ANALYSIS AND BILINGUALISM

The functions of constituent order (CORD) in three geographically neighbouring but genetically unrelated languages, Swedish (S), Finnish (SF) and Lappish (L), all spoken on the territory of Finland, can be briefly characterized as mainly *syntactic* (ie. identifying the immediate constituents: S) versus mainly *informative* (ie. available at the message level: rich case-system of SF and L). However, a study focused upon the *information* level reveals functional analogies between the three languages, traditionally obliterated by typological descriptions.

Thematic analysis was the main method which I used in a dissertation (1977) concerned with "The syntactic and discursive structures of Finnish spoken by Sami[1] Bilinguals in Utsjoki-Ohcejohka (Finnish Lappland)". This work was intended as a reaction to the study of situations of plurilingualism exclusively by measurement against monolingual norms; it is a functionalist presentation of a variety of Finnish spoken by non-native speakers, Finnish influenced by Sami. In the conclusion about the "discourse strategy" of Sami-influenced Finnish, one of the original hypotheses is shown to be verified: the speech of bilinguals brings out certain latent possibilities of a language. It has been possible to trace latent characteristic thanks to a postulate that establishes a stuctural parallelism between the *utterance* level and the *content* level. This "thematic analysis" turned out to be operative in the description of an authentic reality of speech, a reality to be seized in the situation of communication - my recordings were all spontaneous conversations of everyday use - so I have continued to use the thematic approach in other studies afterwards (Fernandez 1982).

[1] The indigenous term "Sami" - restored by its own people in the 60s - will be used as a synonym of "Lappish" (traditionalized by Finno-Ugric research).

In what measure does this analysis differ from the ones developed by the Prague School (Mathesius, Firbas, Danes), by Halliday and by others. Three points should be mentiones:

(1) the clear distiction between the two basic schemes of realization of the dichotomy Theme-Rheme;

(2) the importance given to the process of what is called "énonciation"[1] in French;

(3) the application of this thematic method to living natural discourse. As far as I know, the method has not yet beeen applied to other corpuses than ad hoc sentences or written texts. In spite of the difficulty of the systematisation of discourse phenomena, I find that the application of the thematic analysis to *spontaneous speech* is a condition to the validity of the theory.

In French general linguistics, the postulate of a structural parallelism between the utterance level and the information level has been mainly developed by C. Hagege, and is often referred to by others: "le message est coulé dans le moule de l'énoncé", as J. Perrot formulates it ("the message is shaped by the mould of the utterance", 1978). Hagege (1978) distinguishes three "niveaux de couplage" (mixing levels) and has been doing interesting work with the relations between the "semantico-referential" and the "information-hierarchical" levels.[2]

How can we speak of "enunciative structures"? At the message level - the level characterized by the domination of prosodic features - the parallel existence of two structures (probably universal?) is recognized:

(1) a continuative-terminal intonation

(2) a terminal- parenthetic _____.[3]

[1] I am using the term "énonciation" in the sense of O. Ducrot: "J'appellerai "énonciation" l'évènement, le fait que constitue l'apparation d'un énoncé - a purely semantic function. "Les sens d'un énoncé, c'est une description, une représentation qu'il apporte de son énonciation" (1980: 33-34).

[2] In his most recent seminars("Typologie des langues et universaux", E.P.H.E., Paris) he replaces the term of "niveaux de couplage" with "points de vue".

[3] This question has been discussed by phoneticians (D. Bolinger, M. Rossi) as well as syntacticians (Danes, Hagege).

In this perspective, the Theme is defined by means of formal criteria: it comes before the Rheme, and it carries specific marks (prosodic and morphological). As a short demonstration, I give you here two examples out of my previous corpus, Lappish-Finnish. The dichotomous basic scheme is seldom to be found in spontaneous language,

ex. Katekeetta↑ piti koulua↓

[the catechist was teaching school].

Without turning to intricate schemes yet, let us consider one of average length:

(1) Ne luki yleensä läksynsä aika hyvin

[They-read-generally-their lessons-rather-well] ;

(a) it could principally be a discourse about what children used to do "in general", which is here excluded by the CORD (it would be yleensä...);

(b) what the children "read" or "studied" could be in question,

Ne luki yleensä |...

(c) the effective realization of the utterance requires (the beginning of the falling curve of intonation is upon aika hyvin) that this is a commentary about "the way they were learning their lessons",

Ne luki yleensä läksynsä ↑ aika hyvin ↓ .

But the direction of the curve is not always rising / falling. It can also be what I have called "terminal (falling) - parenthetic (flat)". These are two different kinds of strategies: as the sentence Katekeetta ↑ piti koulua could be an answer to "What was the catechist doing?", the answer to "Who was teaching school?" wouls be Katekeetta ↓ piti koulua →. Some thematists speak about the different position of the Theme before or after the Rheme; I find it essential to recognize an independent existence to the 3rd element, which modifies the basic scheme (we shall later see its importance in pedagogical speeches. The *Mnememe* is a kind of appendix without any informative value of its own, in charge of revealing, after the Rheme, the divergence between the syntactic and informational structures; its frequency in a longer sequence ("text") symbolizes the *modulation* of the information present in any speech act (rather than a logically determined dichotomy "old/new"). The cleft constructions can occur either to the left or to the right; while they are often used in Indo-European languages, they are generally considered to be rare in Fenno-Ugric systems (because of their numerous possibilities of particle use), but a rapid survey of

spoken discourses actually proves that they are quite common in Finnish, even a right cleft construction like

(2) Toi sano kyl aina "hei" ↓ tuo Matti.
[He-said-sure-always-hallo that-Matti]

Here again the physical realization of the utterance will be decisive: the prosody, which is the linguistic device wit the CORD combines for delivering signification, is the essential *signifiant* of the message structure.

Other explanations could be needed on the subject of emphasis, which I use here as a synonym to focalization, although a finer distinction could even be introduced, the one being paradigmatic, the other syntagmatic. At the French-Finnish Contrastive Colloquium in Helsinki (1979), I pointed out that the confusion should be avoided between Thematization and Focalization. As a brief illustration, here are the main differences between French and Finnish: the construction C'est ... que was specially examined, with its different meanings, and the corresponding devices in Finnish were sought. The informative value is expressed in French by using a syntactic device (an auxiliary of predication), which can mean an exclusive selection, but not obligatorily:

(3) C'est le voisin qui boit.

(a) identification:
SF. Se on ↑ se naapuri joka juopottelee ↓

(b) exclusive selection (correction after a negative assertion, for instance):
NAAPURI ↓ juopottelee →
or NAAPURIHAN ↓ (se on joka) juopottelee →
or, facilitated by the presence of the clitic:
Sehän on NAAPURI ↓ joka juopottelee →

(c) the whole of the utterance is rhematized; SF actualizes through deictics:
Naapuri se siellä juopottelee ↓ .

Thus the strong accentuation of Finnish in (b) appears as the direct equivalent of the French syntactic device - exclusively when the value is selective - for *emphasis* (cf. Fernandez 1982a: 192).

Each language has its own devices of thematization, and they should be thoroughly investigated, which is still to be done. I discussed some of the specific thematizing devices of French and Finnish at the same contrastive seminar such as:

(4) Il y a ... qui, another predication auxiliary of spoken French,

Il y a sa femme qui est malade.
= Sen vaimo on nyt kipeä[1]
[His-wife-is-now-sick] .

Il y a un homme qui a téléphoné
= Joku mies soitti
[Some-man-phoned]

Finnish in its turn makes a large use of *particles*; some of them have traditionally been described as such (eg. -hÄn above), some are typical of oral use, for instance the forwarding of a term followed by kun (comparative-temporal 'when-as') in a subordinate clause:

(5) Toi mankka ku on päällä nii
[This-recorder as-is-on-so]

This device is reminiscent of the Greek prolepse. These are some of the problems raised by the thematic analysis. The differences appear in detail, but the general process in organizing the information is clearly seen to be identical: thus the *presentative turn* which Hetzron considers as 'ideal' exploits different resourses in Finnish and French, but has the same orientation, eg.

(6) Il manque un livre sur ce rayon

will be Tästä puuttuu yks kirja ↓ tästä hyllystä →
- an oral variant of the more grammatical

Tästä hyllystä puuttuu yksi kirja
[From this-shelf-is missing-one-book] .

In this construction French uses an 'apparent subject' whereas Finnish has CORD only, with some special constraints (the verb could not be used in the first position without Emphasis).

ORALITY AND AREAL LINGUISTICS

Now the reflexion, if it can be demonstrated progressively for languages as remote as French and Finnish, is still more valid within a delimitated area. It appeared to me that the contrastive descriptions of the main

[1] This construction is even very near the variant of spoken French 'Il *a* ... qui'.

Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric languages in contact, ie. Swedish and Finnish, sort out syntactic oppositions of *categories* instead of pointing out *functions*. Through giving a priority to the description of the material facts without wondering about their linguistic status, one can continue the legend of 'complete freedom' for Finnish CORD, as opposite to 'rigid' Swedish CORD. On the contrary, the recognition of informative organization brings out the *analogies*.

The opposition of written order and spoken order is more pertinent. It can be defined briefly as follows:

(1) In *written* communication, the Cord is the primary means of carrying the information. In the *oral* form the speaker who undertakes an act of communication is preoccupied primarily with maintaining psychological contiguity: he will therefore have recourse to enunciative markers such as phatics and modal auxiliaries for the transmission of an *indicial* information. The 'existential sentences' of Finnish are a convincing piece of the unability of CORD to carry alone the presentative function in spoken language. There is a vast linguistic literature about Finnish existential sentences as the ideal use of CORD for the expression of the opposition definite/indefinite. The most modern presentation still reproduce the classical examples by Setälä (cf. Karlsson 1978):

(7) Pöydällä on kirja and Kirja on pöydällä
[On the table-is-a book] [The book-is-on the table]

with their corresponding constructions in Swedish:

På bordet ligger en bok Boken ligger på bordet
or Det ligger en bok på bordet
[There is a book on the table]

It seems from a large set of standard examples that Finnish CORD is sufficient in making the opposition, whereas Indo-European languages must use articles (and even presentative verbs). All these examples, repeated and repeated again by grammars, reflect however a *written* state of language. I assert that this is not the case in Finnish as spoken. My intuitive impressions have been corroborated by the analysis of different corpuses, some belonging to a big Finnish project about 'Standard spoken Finnish' in progress at the four Finnish universities (cf. Paunonen et al. 1981). The spoken forms equivalent to the classical examples produced by grammarians are:

(7') Siellä on yksi kirja sillä pöydällä and Se kirja on sillä
or Sillä pöydällä on joku kirja

The analysis of a corpus of standard spoken Finnish thus reveals that in more than 50 % of cases the definite substantive is preceded by a deictic *se* 'the', *tämä* 'this', *tuo* 'that'; the indefinite substantive by the numeral *yksi* 'one', an indefinite adjective *eräs* 'a certain', *joku* 'some', *muu* 'another', *toinen* 'a second one', or by a qualitative adjective *semmonen, tämmönen, tommonen* 'one of this/that kind', 'of this/that sort', etc.

(2') In the *spoken* form, CORD plays an essential role in correlation with the phonic values of the language: the interphrastic cohesion is often assumed not by syntactic devices but by the repetition of elements in a certain fixed order. This is the case of the *iconical cohesion* - a term borrowed from Peirce by the textual linguists- which can be shown to work in pedagogical discourse, eg.

(8) (supistumaverbeistä) 'varata-varaan' yks paradigma. Toinen 'karata-karkaan'. 'Varata-varaan' 'karata-karkaan (...). Mistä se tiedetään ? 'Varata' tai 'karata'/ että toinen on 'varaan' eikä 'varkaan'/ tai että tämä on 'karkaan' eikä 'karaan'?
[(about contract veros) 'to reserve-I reserve' one paradigm. Another one 'to flee-I flee'. 'To reserve-I reserve' 'to flee-I flee'(). How should we know? 'To reserve' or 'to flee'/that the other on is 'varaan' and not 'varkaan'/ or that this one is 'karkaan' and not 'karaan'?]

This type of contrasted repetitive explanation is normally exluded by the demands of the written form.

TEACHER TALK

The *pedagogical* situation gives us an opportunity to meet both written and oral discourse: it is a speech which is delivered in an *oral medium* but which has usually a *written basis*.

A. The specific universe of the pedagogical discourse is constituted by:

(1) a purely pedagogical part - with reference to a written code.

(2) facultative complements (anecdotes, illustrations) - with reference to an oral code:

(3) a free discussion - "spontaneous" discourse.

B. The pedagogical strategy is characterized by:

(1) the importance of the metatext: it generally precedes the text, a difference with the spontaneous language; it is integrated in the preparatory phasis of the discourse, normally implicated by the outline, and often appears explicitely,

(9) S. Ja/det här med r:en ska vi kanske prata lite grann om.
[Well/that stuff with the r:s shall perhaps go a little into.]
SF. Aion ottaa muutamia esimerkkejä sitten.
[Now I intend to take a few examples then.]

A competitor to the metatext in this presentative role is the special use of topicalization.

(2) the pseudo-dialogue: here the *interrogative* modality is dominating and permits the introduction of "artificial" Rhemes. One can observe the correlation of semantic difficulty (ie. of the matter to be presented) with the use of a familiar style marked by the accumulation of phatics and of what I call the *enunciative particles* (French "particules énonciatives", PEN). Let us mention here some of the points developed in a special study (1980) about PEN.

The PEN are manifested by a series of anomalies:

- contradictory influence (reenforcing, weakening)
- variable syntactic incidence (word, sentence)
- resistence to transposition (translation)
- condemned semantics (they are classified by grammars as "filler words").

The PEN cannot be dissociated from the linguistic situation; they underscore the importance of the code; their multitude in spoken discourse symbolizes the fundamental difference of density between the oral and the written form. Language as *spoken* is a process of *elaboration*: The PEN provide resting places for the speaker, they contribute to making explicit the way the speaker thinks his utterance must be integrated into the communicative context.

Finally this study suggest a general change of the linguistic perspective:

- Syntactic categories are broken down PEN among clitics (S *ju, väl, ang*; SF *-han/-hän, -pa/-pä, -kin/-kaan/-kään*, etc.), adverbs (S *nu, igen*; SF *nyt taas* 'now, again', etc.), conjunctions (SF *kun*), adjectives (SF *sellainen, semmonen*, etc.), pronouns (S *va*);

- speech is restructured: the use of PEN is a phenomenon of "langue";
- expressivity is no longer left at the margins;
- the conclusion even contributes to the theoretical issues concerned with *modality*.

The pseudo-dialogue of pedagogical discourse is punctuated by PEN; most utterances are opened by an affirmative PEN (S *ja*, *jo*; SF *joo*), or by a suspensive one (with a very slight variation - S *nå*, SF *no*, L *na* 'well'). The questions are often addressed by the speaker to himself:

('0) S Och vad menar jag då med prosodin?
'And so what do I mean with prosody?'

they can also be impersonal:

SF Mikä on tempuksen ja moduksen suhde?
'What is the relation between the tense and the mood?'

or they can be turned directly to the addressee:

SF Miten monta eri sananmuotoa syntyy jos ()? Mitä arvaisitte?
'How many wordforms will appear if ()? What would you guess?'

C. The main devices for organizing the information:

(1) Topicalization: the heads of paragraphs, often as a cleft, announce the main subjects to be treated, according to a preestablished program;

S Intonation och uttal
'Intonation and pronunciation'

Prosodin/kvantiteten
'The prosody/the quantity'

SF Uudempi kieliteoria
'The newer linguistic theory'

Tekstilingvistiikka
'Textlinguistics'

Kontrastiivinen analyysi
'Contrastive analysis' - expanded into (=subparagraph)
virheanalyysi
'error analysis'
and interlinguatutkimus
'interlingual research'.

(2) Rhematization: from the view point of informative charge, pedagogical discourse seems to be marked by an intense topicalization, but the balance between old and new elements is secured by a recurrent device of *enumeration*, a special type of rhematization which shows the *didactic* purpose of the text (dialogue is mainly absent in didactic discourse),

(11) S Det är de TUNGA ordklasserna/alltså substantiv/huvudverb och en del betydelsebärande adjektiv

'These are the HEAVY wordclasses/ie. substantives/main verbs and a number of meaningful adjectives'

SF Morfeemiluokkia on kuusi tässä/eli kanta/passiivi/tempus/modus/persoona/enklitit ja liitepartikkelit.

'There are six morphemclasses here/in other words the root/the passive/the tense/the mood/the person/the clitics and the particles'

A good example of combined *iconical cohesion* and enumeration is:

(12) L (k p t) Muhtimat/hálliidit čállit nu/ahte/DON BOAĐAK K-jienain/Mi BOAHTIP P-jienain/ja mi hálliidivččiimet doallat dan mi ovdal le čállojun T-jienain/BOAHTIT ja BOAĐAT. (...) Seamma guaska dakkar sániid go BOAĐAM/mas hálliidit muhtimat čállit M-jiena/ja mi fas hálliidivččiimet čállit BOAĐAN (...)

"(k p t) Some/wish to write so/that/DON BOAĐAK ("you come") with the sound K/MI BOAHTIP ("we come") with the sound P/ and we would wish to keep it as it has been written before the sound T/BOAHTIT and BOAĐAT. (...) The same thing concerns such words as BOAĐAM ("I come")/in which some wish a M/and we again would wish to write BOAĐAN (...).[1]

(3) Emphasis: in "teacher talk" we can observe a systematization of the selective and contrastive values of Emphasis whenever there is a more personal contribution of the teacher. In its extreme form, Emphasis means the emphatic realization of a whole utterance, even a series of utterances. The *whole of the utterance* is then contrasted to the rest of the text, but nothing is contrasted within the utterance. This devise, to be attributed to the use of *dictation*, a remnant of the magistral talk, is apparently one of the irreducible elements of pedagogical strategy:

- *the punctual* Emphasis can fall upon any word, even a particle or a casual suffix:

SF Ruotsalaisilla niin kun/SuomalaisillaKIN

'For Swedes as well as for Finns TOO'

- the contrastive value of Emphasis appear most clearly when used in a *pair*:

[1] In fact, although iconical enumeration is obviously very recurrent in a pedagogical corpus, a similar use of it has been found in spontaneous language (cf. Fernandez 1981), even in the form of a "circular cohesion" (1982b: 260 ff.).

(13) S Vi talar naturligtvis inte om REGLERNA första dan/ men vi GÖR accenterna.
' We don't speak of course of the RULES the first day/ but we DO the accents.'

SF Ei ole kyse vain siitä että foneemiVARASTO/eroaa vain nimenomaan siitä ehkä että foneemiSUHTEET ovat erilaisia.
'The question is not only about the STOCK of phonemes/ which differs but precisely about maybe th RELATIONS between the phonemes that are different.'

Another question would be to what extent some items have a propensity to Emphasis, for instance proper names as quoted, foreign words in the middle of the sentence; a special group in my corpus is constituted by *nationality* and *language* names:

(14) L Mäinnašet oažžu ahte/nuppistávvala U ja O merken/čouvvu soahpamuša manna ALBMOGIID GASKASAŠ vieru/ige dušše SUOMA vieru
'One can mention that/the marking of the U and O in the second syllable/follows after that agreement the INTERNATIONAL habit/and not only the FINNISH one' -

- *long Emphasis*, for instance,

(15) SF ASTEVAIHTELU EI OLE ÄÄNTEELLINEN ILMIÖ VAAN SE ON/ PUHTAASTI MORFOLOGINEN ILMIÖ.
'Consonant gradation is not a phonetic phenomenon but it is/a purely morphological phenomenon',

is realized with strong accentuation (regular, on the first syllable), slow rhythmand distinctive articulation, all of which are normally characteristic of Emphasis in Finnish. In the *extralinguistic* dimension, this long Emphasis, as a strong declaration of principle, is linked to an *ideological* intention as seen from an extract of Sami discourse, on the boundary between pedagogical and political speech (the discussion is about the opportunity for a unified orthography and the speaker is one of the Sami teachers from Finland who have strongly critisized the project)

(16) L (oktasaš čállenvuohki) suopmelaš lahtuid mielas dat lea ERENOAMAŠ DÁRBBAŠLAŠ JA VEALTAMEAHTTUN/MUHTO/I OKTASAŠ ČÁLLENVUOHKI OAČČO SÁMEGIELA BILIBIT/dasa i leat mis várri/ mi fertet doallat juogalágan NJUOLGGU LINJA.
'(common orthography) from the point of view of the Finnish members it is QUITE IMPORTANT AND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY/BUT/ COMMON ORTHOGRAPHY MUST NOT DESTROY THE SAMI LANGUAGE/we can't afford that/we must hold a STRAIGHT LINE on that' -

Will this vision be considered as too universalistic? But every science proceeds with a dialectic movement and, in my opinion, one can never stress to sufficient degree how complementary Typological descriptions and research upon universals are.

Are we to study mere syntactic devices - like Word order - for each language as internal systems? To answer this, I allow myself to paraphrase one of my Sami teacher informants (16):

> it is quite important and absolutely necessary, BUT (MUHTO), the study of grammar must not destroy the language as living, we cannot afford that. We must hold a straight line on that.

CDA AND TEACHING OF FRENCH IN FENNO-SCANDIA

The two main phrases which I underscored in a recent series of lectures at different Finnish universities on "Contrastive Discourse Analysis" (spring 1982) were:

- exercises in analysing *thematic* components and thematical progression, and
- special attention to be paid to the *Enunciative Particles*, which are essential for personal communication; in *French* the difficulty involved is due to

(a) the grammatical disagreement

- sometimes there is no agreement eg.
  Tiens! Vous voil?!
- sometimes there is an agreement eg.
  Dis-donc, tu pourrais t'excuser!
  Dites-donc, vous pourriez vous excuser!

(b) as in other languages, the non-literal meaning, even an apparent semantical incoherence, eg.
Allez, vous pouvez rester, va!

As far as the PEN are concerned, dictionaries are of no help.

A good method for studing discourse devices in a foreign language turned out to be the one presented by J. Delisle (1980). It aims at underlining

- the limitations of lexicographic works;
- the distinction between equivalences of signification vs. equivalences of meaning.

it was originally intended for translators of English into French, but was used with similar success in Finnish classes. The main point is

that one builds up three columns with the "difficult" words or utterances in the left one; the students are asked to write in the central column the different meanings they come across through knowledge or with the help of a dictionary. The last column is filled when the whole text to be translated has been given. This method intends to prove that:

(a) in a *context* the different parts of a discourse lose their potentialities of signification and acquire one single meaning (the other ones do not even come to the mind of the translator),

(b) the linguistic signification and the contextual meaning may sometimes agree.

(c) in a situation of communication other signs acquire a meaning which cannot be guessed from the individual meanings at the language level.

Another type of exercise is very near the classical "explication de texte":

1. find the keys of the text that can locate and determine the context;
2. find the non-linguistic knowledge necessary for its understanding;
3. trace out the allusions and the embedded statements and
4. interpret certain words, syntagms or idioms semantically.

As an illustration, I will here make a few comments on the results of a tentative analysis and translation into Finnish and Swedish of a colloquial spoken text recorded on the (French) radio but imitating natural conversion.[1] Let us concentrate upon a few lines that were translated by a group of ten students:

"(Est-ce que vous êtes content de la télévision?)

a. Ah ben ce serait difficile de l'être Monsieur.

b. Parce que/en dépit du changement du 10 Mai Monsieur/la DROITE/ la DROITE continue à détenir toutes les commandes de l'information.

c. Et en particulier sur TF1/sur Antenne 2 et sur FR3 (- en particulier...?):

d. Je vais vous dire Monsieur/c'est dégoûtant!"

The most important points to be discussed were the following:

1. "Monsieur" in the sense of "Sir" has no direct equivalent in Finnish; *herra* is too solemn in usual conversation. It could easily be

[1] For a more thorough analysis of the contrastive problems raised, see Fernandez 1982b.

considered as an expletive in (b), but in (a) and (d) it was felt to add to the elocutive strenght of the text that it had to be replaced by another device. The right solution seems to be to add phatics in order to compensate for the individual apostrophe: *Kyllä kuulkaas* ('listen indeed').

2. The cultural/historical-political allusion to the "changement du 10 Mai" had to be understood, and the idiomatic use of the Finnish formulation to be known: instead of the date, the nature of the event had to be defined through *valta vaihtui* (' the power changed') rather than *asiat muuttui* ('things changed', which was too allusive) or *hallitus vaihtui* ('the government changed', too punctual).

3. The reference to information monopoly was even more delicate. "Les commandes de l'information" is a very concrete image, and most of the translators tried render it by an expression containing *käsissään* 'in their hands' - *tiedonvälityksen langat* ('the threads of the transmission of information') - or *hallussaan* 'in their power' - *tärkeät tuolit* ('the important seats', etc.). It would be more natural to say that the Right(ists) *valvoo* ('control') *tiedotustoimintaa/tiedotusvälineitä/tiedottamista* ('the activity of information/the means of information/the information process').

4. The knowledge of the (foreign) cultural background is also a determining factor in translating utterance (c): it was either undertranslated (literal use of the three TV channels) or overtranslated ('the 1st one/the 2nd one and all the other channels'), which both missed the point. Here the most explicit way of transmitting the speaker's irony is the transposition of the names of the channels into Finnish background: ("particularly" and then quoting all the Finnish channels existing) *varsinkin MTV:ssä, ykköskanavalla ja kakkosella.*

5. The colloquial character of the text implied some hard choices, for instance the choice of the insulting adjectives: would "disgusting" be the usual *inhottavaa* or stronger (even far-fetched) expressions like *törkeää/kuvottavaa/älytöntä/kurjaa/siivotonta*? There were as many solutions as there were answers given and only a closer stydy of the situation (origin, age, relationship, intentions of the speakers) would allow us to judge: all of them express the same kind of repulsion in variable degrees.

Even the correct interpretation of the opening PEN "Ah ben" needs a deep reflection about its connotations (marked by its intonation, by the connection with other phatics or addressing titles, "Ah ben... Monsieur").

In conclusion, it could be pointed out that spontaneous speech, although fascinating and necessary, may not be the most best frame to begin the practising of CDA, at least not as isolated from other fields of language use. The picture of everyday communication can be constructed as well from more fixed uses like languages for special purposes. Finally I would like to mention the interdisciplinary Project we have undertaken at the D.I.S.C.O.S.S.[1], which is now expanding into an international research group including Finnish and Swedish scholars, entitled "Le Discours Contrastif de Spécialité (franco-nordique)". One of the main themes is theoretical, "Semantics and pragmatics of scientific discourse: a contrastive approach", the other practical, "Pedagogy and translation of the specialized discourse". One of the objectives will be to show in what measure the *communicative strategies* in such situations differ between two languages,ie. two societies, both in realisation and modalisation. In addition, effective and significantly simplified readers should be composed with native language of the target reader population in mind.[2]

[1]Association "Discours Contrastif Scientifique et de Specialité", Paris (from 1980).

[2]The contrastive work will be continued. An international conference was held in 1983. The proceedings will be published in Fernandez (ed.) 1983.

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CULTURAL EFFECT ON THE COMPREHENSIBILITY OF READING TEXTS

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1. Introduction

"What are you reading? my lord," Hamlet asked. "Words, words, words," he answered. What he, perhaps, meant by this was words strong together in sentences put down in a certain context for written communication.

Landor supports this idea by stating that "a sentence, no less than each of its parts, is a creature of social convention". Casier (in Grennberg 1971:49) points out that "the difference between languages derives less from differences in sounds and signs than from differences of world-view". These differences of world-view have been neglected in the teaching of reading in Iragi schools and universities. Reading has been, for years, a problematic issue in comprehension lessons. Efforts have been directed towards the improvement of the reading act and process. Nevertheless, our students cannot read efficiently. They fail to extract implied and inferential meanings out of a reading text, especially that of literary literature (test result analysis reveals this fact).

Emphasis has been put on the teaching of linguistics, the structural aspect of language, which the most easily analysed, described, and taught. This could, however, be a drawback to communication, whether spoken or written. "It is not certain that teaching knowledge about language helps us in any way" (Cazden in Stub 1975:289). In this sense "linguistics is at one and the same time helping and retarding us in our exploration of experience, and the detail of these process of help and hindrance are deposited in the subtler meaning of different cultures" (Sapir in Hoijer 1971:97). Hoijer (1971) states on the cover of his book that "language of different societies do not make the same sense out of the same reality". Sapir (in Hoijer 1971:95) makes it clear that language culture "are held to be inseparable", though each can more or less be studied independently of the other.

2. Purpose

The ever increasing concern with reading comprehension at all levels has stimulated an interest in looking deep into the meaning of reading; reading into its culturally oriented meaning that has arisen out of the interaction between linguistic and culture. Hence this paper is to show that there is no way that written language can fully communicate without encompassing cultural meaning. That is to say, culture constitutes an important part of the general study of written communication.

The study of the reading act and process can indeed be a centre of a culturally constituted linguistics, in communities and in social sciences. Our interest does not lie in questions such as what this form, or formed class, means but, instead, in the question in what manner a language organizes, through its structural semantic system, the world of experience in which its speakers live? To quote Sapir (in Mandlebaum 1949:10-11), "as our scientific experience grows we must learn to fight the implications of language". 'The fruit ripe in the sun' is by its linguistic form a member of the same relational class of experience as 'the woman works in the kitchen'. Sapir reports (in Hoijer 1971:98) that "it is necessary to concentrate on those structural patterns of language that have definable semantic correlates, and omit those which survive only in purely grammatical function", because not all the structural patterns of a reading text have the same degree of semantic importance.

Since the diversity of psycho-sociolinguistics presents itself as a complex problem in many sectors of life-education, national development, and written communication - it is hypothesised here that when the social environment (culture) of a reading text is not familiar to a reader, comprehension is blurred and lacking. The more familiar a reader is with the cultural background of a reading selection, the better his comprehension is. The appropriate question is: How should a comprehensive definition of reading and its component parts be provided and illustrated?

Since "languages differ markedly from each other, so we should expect to find significant and formidable barriers to cross-cultural

communication and understanding" (Hoijer 1971:94). Not only languages but also cultures differ. The study of cultural differences, in addition to that of linguistics, might solve the problem of reading interpretation to a great extent. This belief has both necessitated and facilitated an extensive investigation into the act of reading comprehension (Al-Rufai 1969). At this point, though, it seems proper to provide a comprehensive definition of reading and its constituent parts.

3. Definitions

A comprehensive definition of the reading act presupposes a brief account of each of its components.

A close look at Figure 1 reveals that the act of reading consists of two major parts: (1) the lexico-grammatical (linguistic) elements on the left half of the figure, and (2) the socio-psychological elements, on the right half on the figure, within a historical and geographical context. The situation is conceived as a network of relationships that hold among social, psychological, lexical and linguistic factors which collectively supply meaning. Meaning is in the centre of the figure. Words are read and interpreted individually as lexis, and collectively, as they are arranged in an acceptable manner, as syntax and if they are to be produced orally, as phonology. Yet all these give but half of the meaning to be deducted out of a reading passage. The other half, which completes the meaning, is its socio-psychological element.

There is, however, no intention of going here beyond the surface of the controversial definitions of linguistics. There are those, Chomsky and his fellow transformationalists, who believe that language is knowledge (Chomsky 1955), and those who look at language as behaviour (Halliday 1978). Although Hymes's (1964) Concept of communicative competence, which is fully supported here, implies that language is knowledge, it necessitates a theory of relating knowledge to behaviour in language study which is beneficial in the reading act and process.

The psychological element moulds the writer-reader view-point and impression of what is written and read respectively. Yet, both the writer and reader are affected by the social peculiarities of any one society in which they lived and still live. Societies change with develpoment through time and differ from a geographical point of view. Not only

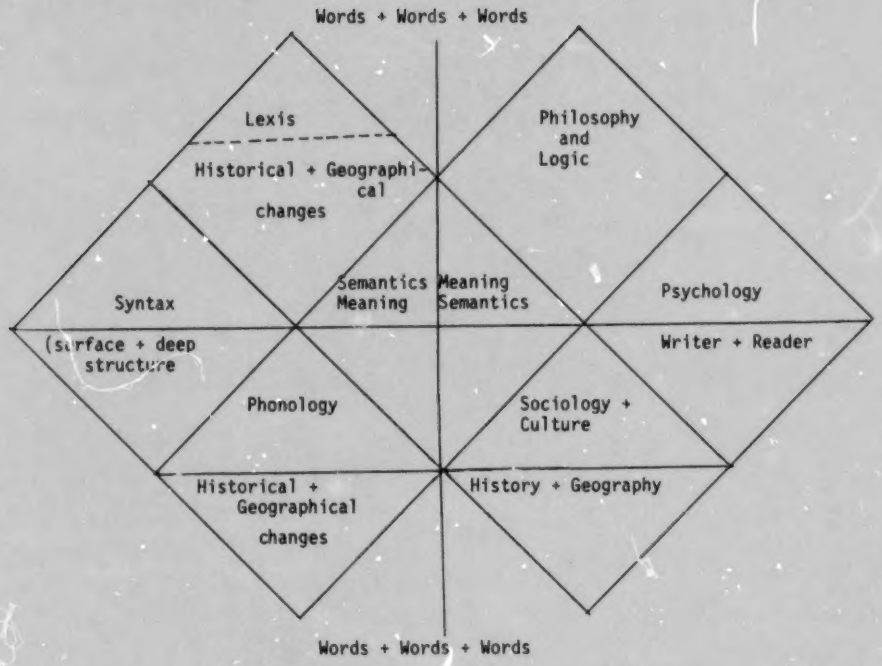

Figure 1. A representation of the components of reading

region, but also climate, and the agricultural and industrial products determine, to a great extent, the abilities and habits of both the writer and the reader.

Since through previous tests (Al-Rufai 1969, 1980, and classroom tests) we have known all the linguistic elements which impair our learner's comprehension, this work has primary been concerned with the effect of cultural interaction on the comprehensibility of the reading text. The proper question to be asked here seems to be: What is culture?

Culture, as Taylor puts it, is "that complex whole which includes law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired be man as a member of society" (Hoijer in Hymes 1964:455). The complement Taylor's definition, we employ Word's (in Hymes 1964:36) definition, who according to which "culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for anyone of themselves". Culture, then, is an organization, and not, of things, people, behaviour or emotions. It consists only of the concepts of things which people have in their minds but also of the way those things are perceived, related, and interpreted. What people say, do, feel, and believe are the products of their social environment. In this sense, a society's language is the product of its culture and therefore an inseparable aspect of it. Thus, the frequent claim that language and culture are two independent acts does not make any fruitful impression on those who are engaged in the process of the act of reading.

Lotz (in Hymes 1964:182) interrelates language to culture in the same way in which a part is related to a whole. A part, then, cannot provide meaning fully, unless the whole of which it is a part is known. It is clear that language is one of the many capabilities which must be acquired to deduce meaning out of any reading material.

In the light of the above discussion, it seems that language is not, as Chomsky and other transformationalists see it, lexico-syntactic units. Language, most of the time, is larger than a sentence; it could be a paragraph, a chapter, and even a whole book, for example: Paragraph writing has been recently proved, by research, to be affected by cultural tradition (Connor and McCagg 1983).

The study of language should be looked at in a broader sense. It should be expanded to include psycho-sociolinguistics. These aspects of language, psychology, sosiology, and linguistics, can only be divided and separated for an immediate objective of research or pedagogy.

4. The Procedure

Now that the act and process of reading and their component parts have been defined, attention is paid to the construction of a reading test battery. The question which arise in this context are:

1. What should be tested?
2. What material should be used?
3. What items should be selected?
4. What subjects, and how, should be drawn from the entire population?

4.1. The Material

All types of reading material involve some cultural element. The degree of that involment differs, of course, from law to medicine, politics to history, geography to geology and archeology. But literature seems to be richer in the embodiment of cultural factors. Literature is what students fail to comprehend fully, and literature makes the material for the test. It remains to find out what branch of literature is to be used for this purpose. Since novels and plays are rather long, it was decided to use poetry. This decision was supported by what Hoijer (in Hymes 1964:92) says of the comprehension of a piece of poetry. He says that "the understanding of a simple poem, for instance, involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance but a full comprehension of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in words or as it is suggested by their overtones".

4.2 The Construction of the test

It is evident from what has been said above that both the study of linguistics and culture play a significant role in the totality of the reading act. Consequently the test is made up of three parts: (1) that

which gives lexical meaning: (2) that which produces meaning from syntax; and (3) that which detects meaning out of the cultural contex. Each of these parts comprises six questions. The test battery has 18 questions all together and the intention is to find out which part, and which question in each part, constitutes the major problem in the test both quantitatively and qualitatively.

An identical battery of tests was designed for cultural points that were similar to those of Iraqi culture.

4.3 The Test Items

The items, both lexical and syntactic, were selected on the ground that they would not create difficulties for the readers. But, in the first version of the test, cultural items were not similar to those of Iraqi culture. In the second version of the test cultural items were similar. This was prepared to find out if the performance of the readers was better in the second test than in the first one.

The answer to each problem required a tick or a single word only.

4.4 The Selection of the Subjects

The whole population of three third-year classes whose instructor I was were chosen to be the subjects of the test. Many Arab, non-Iraqi, students were included in this population. Their answers were separated from the others to find out whether the Arabs, whose social environment was different, differed in their answers from the Iraqis. The number of the testees was 100; there were two Tunisians, 24 Palestinians, and the rest were Iraqi. The weakness of this population is, of course, the limited number of the subjects.

4.5 The Application of the Test

Two quiet, comfortable rooms, which were known to be suitable for exams, were prepared. Seven reliable colleagues were asked to help in the administration of the test. We were eight, four in each room. When the students were ready, the first test papers were distributed together with the answer sheets. At the end of the time allocated, the answer

sheets and test papers were collected. The second test was administered under the same conditions two weeks later. Answer sheets were marked to be analyzed and interpreted.

5. The Analysis of the Test

The data was submitted to statistical methods of analysis. The means, standard deviations, percentages, and correlation coefficient of the raw data were calculated.

The means of the syntactic tests were rather high in both versions of the test with a small standard deviation, while the means of the lexical items were slightly above average with a larger standard deviation than of the syntactic test. On the contrary, the means of the cultural items in the first version of the test, where they were unfamiliar to the readers, were rather low with a large standard deviation. The cultural items in the second version of the test, where the items were familiar, showed high means and low standard deviations. The total comprehension means of the first test was below average with a comparatively high standard deviation, while that of the second test was above average with a relatively large standard deviation. (The formulas and figures are excluded in order to give the article its reasonable length.)

The correlation coefficient between the two halves of the first test was low. The correlation coefficient between the two halves of the second test was high, and significant at 0.01. At the same time a low correlation coefficient was established between the two versions of the test, that of the familiar culture and that of the unfamiliar one.

Further more, the mean, standard deviation and percentage of each item was calculated and their relative difficulties were established. The correlation coefficients between and within the test items were also calculated. The syntactic items were highly correlated and significant at 0.01. The correlation coefficient between the syntactic elements, on the one hand, and that of the cultural items, on the other, was not significant. The correlation coefficient between the lexical items and the cultural items was significant at 0.05. The cultural items between the two versions of the test were insignificant correlated.

The differences of the means and correlation coefficients between the Iraqi readers' performance and that of the other non-Iraqi Arabs were not significant. (The t-test was applied throughout.)

6. The Interpretation of the Test

Looking back at the analysis of the data it seems quite obvious that syntax has hardly anything to do with the understanding of the cultural background of a reading extract. This, of course, doesn't mean that the recognition of syntactic forms does not help in reading comprehension. It does help interpretation to a great extend, but it is not the be-all and the end-all of the act of reading.

The results reported in the graph of chapter 5 clearly show that syntax does not help much in the understanding of the culture of those who use the language as a mother tongue. The reverse could perhaps be possible. Syntax is the product of culture. It was only invented for the purpose of human communication. Knowing lexis is a different matter. Knowing lexis of a reading text helps greatly towards understanding the cultural background; sometimes, a word embodies a major part of that culture.

The correlations found between the test items also confirm that cultural understanding is not affected by the knowledge of syntactic rules. Understanding culture is affected by vocabulary.

Surprisingly the non-Iraqi Arab and the Iraqi performances were rather identical. This demonstrates that as long as the culture is unknown it makes no difference who the reader is.

7. Conclusion

The conclusion to be drawn from what has been said above is that culture, though closely related to the other aspects of language, is a separate entity in its own right. Therefore, it should be taught to enhance the improvement of the reading act and process. That is especially so in reading literature: the novels, drama, and poetry.

It is obvious that, when the cultural background of a reading text is not familiar, comprehension is rather poor. On the contrary, when readers are familiar with culture of the language, their reading

interpretation is good. To quote Stub (1975:289), "Communicative Competence implies a knowledge of both linguistic and Sociolinguistic rules: a knowledge, in other words, both of language (in the narrow sense of phonology, syntax, and semantics), and of the social world in which it must be used."

Greenberg (1971:274) believes that "linguistics is a social science. The very notion of language presupposes a social group which employs it as means of communication" and "language as a highly complex body of learned behaviour forms a part of the cultural heritage of the community which uses it. Indeed it has a central traits within and across social groups." From this point of view, linguistics may be concluded to be a specialized branch of cultural anthropology, the general science which is concerned with behaviour. "Language, in short, is the mirror of both history and culture", says Greenberg (1971, back cover).

Years ago, Thorndike, the famous psychologist, rightly pointed out: "Reading is thinking". It follows that reading is not mouting words in an expressive style (rhetoric), but it is an act of deciphering meaning out of the constituent elements and their relationships which participates in the construction of language.

Let us go back to Figure 1, which seems to be a piece of fabric. The left side of the figure represents its warp and the right side stands for its weft. Reading and appreciation should be recognized and assimilated according to the nature of this fabric. Reading, then, is to be understood in terms of a rule of use stated in terms of the language and the environment.

It is a well established fact that the socio-cultural environment of the western world differs from that of the Arab world, though today to a lesser extent than in the past. This change, however, took place trough develpoment: educational, economical, political, and so on.

It seems that Iraqi readers who are quite familiar with the structure of the English language fail to grasp the full meaning of a reading text. The reason is, apparently, the differences which exist between the two cultures. This assumption is to be verified in test construction analysis and interpretation.

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THE APPLICATION OF SOME PARAMETERS OF TEXTLINGUISTICS ON CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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In this paper an attempt will be made to present some of the results of a wider research programme dealing with some syntactic forms of emphasis in English and Serbo-Croatian.

The following forms of emphasis which have been analysed in written texts are the following: *repetition, cleft-sentences, word order* and *italicized parts* of the sentence (included as a graphic means of showing the author's placing of emphasis). These forms have earlier been described in various degrees of detail, but such analyses have usually been confined to the examination of each of them separately, and were done mostly within the context of a sentence.

Since textlinguistics gives new methodological tools for the description of the phenomena described earlier within other theoretical frameworks, the syntactic forms of emphasis have not only been considered from the viewpoint of their formal internal structure and syntactic function, but also from the viewpoint of their position within wider, textual units, ie. paragraph, chapter and the whole text. That is, the forms of emphasis have been studied in their relationship with the linguistic context within which they occur and the logico-semantic structure of the wider unit. An attempt has been made to account for the similarities and differences between English and Serbo-Croatian in view of these parameters.

The corpus included the following works: *The Girls of Slender Means* and *Territorial Rights* by Muriel Spark; *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* by Angus Wilson; *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht* by Raymond Williams; and their translations in Serbo-Croatian.

The results of the study can be summarized as follows:

Emphasis is a universal linguistic phenomenon. It is a feature of both written and spoken language which occurs in every style and register and can be expounded by phonological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic means of language organization. Therefore, it cannot be neglected or omitted from a description of a language on account of

being "an exception to the rule".

The analysis of the corpus showed that emphasis cannot be connected solely to some sort of "emotional expressiveness", "stylistic effect", etc. Even when we *can* talk about emphasis in this sense, it does not seem sufficient to consider it only within the grammar of the sentence. It seems obvious that, once "expressiveness" is included within the domain of the notion of emphasis, we must be able to link "expressiveness" to some other linguistic and extralinguistic components of the language situation.

Emphasis is conditioned by the larger context. It has its textual function, and different ways of emphasizing should be related to larger textual units which seem to determine the occurrence of these forms. The context may range from only one single sentence to a part of the paragraph, the whole paragraph, a chapter, or the whole text. Each of the levels of textual organization seems to attract one or two of the forms of emphasis listed.

Within a text as a whole (eg., a novel), repetition is potentially the most convenient form of emphasis. Within a paragraph, the most dominant forms are cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences; word order variations seem to be restricted to the context of one, or less often a few, surrounding sentences. Italicized words and morphemes, which convey the author's decisions as to the placing of special emphasis and reflect certain intonational changes of the spoken language, are confined in the present corpus to the context of one or two sentences at most.

Each one of the forms of emphasis will now be considered separately. It was hypothesized that *repetition* as a means of emphasis would not show any significant differences between English and Serbo-Croatian, as it is fairly easy to retain the same forms and meanings where necessary. In most cases, this was found to be the case: there were no significant differences which would undermine the possibility of congruent translation of repetition from one language into the other.

When textual parameters were applied to the analysis of the corpus, it was found out that repetitions of text-units consisting of several sentences were in direct proportion to the scope of the macrotext within which they occurred. The same relationship was retained in the translation. Repetitions for emphasis usually occurred at the final or initial position of a paragraph, rarely in the middle. In dialogues, repetition was mainly connected with the change of topic,

the transition from one logico-semantic unit into another.

The differences which we found between the English and Serbo-Croatian texts were not due to any linguistic factors but to the translator's wrong interpretation of the meaning, ie. the semantic function of repetition in the original text.

Cleft sentences usually occur at the beginning of a paragraph, less often at the end, and rarely in the middle. Even when they do occur in the middle of a paragraph, they either conclude or begin a smaller textual unit within the paragraph, such a unit being definable on certain logico-semantic grounds. For example, cleft sentences mark the end to a passage of general thinking and the beginning of a passage of particular exemplification, or the change from analytical reasoning into generalizations, and so on. The second semantically important function of cleft sentences in the corpus was to adhere a contrastive meaning to something that had already been mentioned in the text.

The Serbo-Croatian translations do not show any significant differences in the placing of the equivalent forms for English cleft sentences. As a result of the lack of an equivalent syntactic form in Serbo-Croatian, where we have to use certain lexical items to convey the right degree of emphasis, the translation of these sentences however presents a problem to the translator. In many cases, the emphasis is lost in the translation. This can then result in differences in the focusing of the reader's attention and, consequently, in a somewhat slower processing of the text.

Not many examples of emphatic word order were found in the English texts which were examined. In Serbo-Croatian, word order is more flexible than it is in English, and this possibility is, of course, exploited in translated texts.

Inverted word order or, more precisely, inverted sentence element order comprised cases such as *Lovely chap, he is. Sensual and elegant though Gerald was, he detested... Yes, that I know. Him you give ten pounds, me you give this. Increadible though it may sound...*

It is much more difficult to determine the emphaticalness of some other instances of the ordering of sentence elements. That is the case, for example, with adverbials occurring before the Subject at the beginning of the sentence. The examples of such a usage could be better explained by a somewhat different conditioning by the text as being due to the principle of communicative dynamism, which results in such an

ordering of sentence elements showing the appropriate way of segmenting the information units.

An interesting point in the comparison of the two languages relates to the fact that although word order in Serbo-Croatian is more flexible, the equivalent translations which were seen to convey emphasis in English very often consisted of certain emphatic lexical items and comprised no inversion of the sentence elements at all.

The analysis of the use of italics as a means of emphasis indicated that the forms most frequently italicized are pronouns, while those italicized least frequently are lexical verbs and nouns. Again, though it may seem odd at the outset, the position of the items italicized within larger units is similar to what was found to be the case for other types of emphasis: at the beginning or the end of a paragraph; in the middle; or at the change of the topic. An interesting point is that italicized items are often found within repetitions, in cleft-sentences, and in examples of inverted word order. In this way there seems to be a possibility to establish a certain hierarchy of emphasis.

The fact that forms in Serbo-Croatian were often found to be inadequate in rendering the English italicized forms is due to certain systemic differences between the two languages which make it difficult for the translator to adequately italicize in Serbo-Croatian (for example, Serbo-Croatian synthetic verbal forms, vs. English analytic forms, eg. "*I'm not*" translated by "Ja *nisam*"; "we *had* dropped" translated by "*prestali*"; "*does* delight" translated by "*zaista odusevljava*"). Verbal forms in Serbo-Croatian do not usually require the use of the personal pronoun, and therefore emphasis indicated by italicized personal pronouns in English can be conveyed in Serbo-Croatian by the use of the personal pronouns.

For some of the forms subjected to analysis it is easy to find equivalent syntactic phenomena to be used as means of emphasis in Serbo-Croatian. In many cases, however, English syntactic forms are translated in Serbo-Croatian by means of morphological or semantic units relating to the lexical level. The systemic differences between the two languages thus have much more influence on the forms of emphasis relating to smaller units in the original text than on other forms of emphasis such as repetitions.

The analysis of the forms of emphasis within a larger context clearly indicates that the translators should not fail to find the equivalent forms in the target language. If emphasis is too often

omitted in translation, as was found to be the case with the translation of certain forms of emphasis, the translation loses much of its original force and ends up having a semantic textual organization which is not clear.

Different types of emphasis seem to be complementary to each other in relation to the type of text in which they occur. If repetition prevails, there are fewer occurrences of cleft and fewer italicized items. This is the case with, for instance, Muriel Spark's novels. If cleft sentences are dominant forms, repetitions are rare. This is the case with *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*. Similarly, in *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes*, word order was not used for emphasis in a sufficient number of instances, so that it could not be compared with the other forms.

The analysis of the forms of emphasis implies their significance for, and their relationship with larger textual units, which must be taken into account in translation. The results of this analysis not only explain certain differences and similarities between the two languages, but also point out certain significant facts at play within textual units larger than one utterance which have not been taken into account when other theoretical models have been applied.

In this way Contrastive linguistics can also contribute to language teaching. In the teaching of cleft sentences and word order variations, for example, the linguistic and stylistic analysis which is used to explain these forms implicitely or explicitely should account for the textual parameters such as the position of the forms in the larger textual units and their logico-semantic organization.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FIRST LANGUAGE: AN ANALYSIS OF LEARNERS' QUESTIONS*

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1. The analysis of learners' questions in view of other types of cross-language analysis.

This paper deals with the nature of the questions which learners ask in the foreign language classroom in relation to their L1 (or L3) backgrounds and with the extent and the ways in which L1 (or L3) influences such questioning behaviour.

How do these two problems relate to current work on cross-language phenomena, eg. language transfer? It is clear that links with current approaches should be discernible, but no direct connection with any previous analytic procedure can be found. The reason for this is quite simply the fact that the data under consideration here is not interlanguage output data. This data consists of learners' questions which occur in foreign language classroom discourse when the learners encounter problems or deficiencies in handling - in the broadest sense - L2 tasks.

The connections with other investigations are as follows:

(a) Learners' questions involve comparisons between languages as made not by contrastive linguists but by learners themselves. Learners go beyond merely noting contrasts and similarities; their questions are an indirect attempt to locate and define their problems.

(b) Learners' questions are no interlanguage productions. This means that they do not constitute interlanguage performance data and are not directly related to (perhaps automatized) production processes such as interference phenomena in terms of the contrastive analysis hypothesis (Wardhaugh 1970).

(c) Further, when we consider the phenomenon of transfer/interference in analysing learners' questions, it would be pro-

*I should like to express my gratitude to Mary Wildner-Basset, Willis Edmondson and Edwin Hopkins for their discussion and criticism of this paper.

cedurally restrictive to simply describe the data as *products* (as is done for example in traditional error analysis). Three claims support this:

- Such data may offer the possibility of gaining insights into the cognitive processes underlying such transfer/interference phenomena, offering insights, for example, into why such phenomena occur, what type of transfer is involved (eg. transfer in the production process, transfer in the planning process, and so on).
- Insights may be gained into the creative nature of transfer processes and into processes which are not in fact manifest in the interlanguage products.
- Information may be gained concerning fully *conscious* transfer processes.

The data in the form of learners' questions on which this study is based was not systematically elicited, nor were any controls, eg. similar learning tasks in similar groups, used. Therefore it would be premature to generalize on the basis of the results presented below. Furthermore, there is no attempt to propose a model clarifying which linguistic factors are conducive to, for example, transfer processes in learners' questions (factors such as 'language distance', intuitions about markedness, 'coreness', involvement of surface features, and semantic syntactic universals underpinning certain L1-forms and so on)[1]. Instead, the results will be presented in an anecdotal fashion in the hope of stimulating ideas for a more systematic analysis, and of offering insights of relevance to, eg., error analysis. The wish to establish links between the analysis of learners' questions on the one hand and contrastive analysis, error analysis and interlanguage studies on the other is certainly theoretically justified. The attempts that follow must however be viewed as preliminary.

2. The data

I do not wish to define learners' questions very precisely; it is clear for example that not all questions have the form of an interrogative sentence, nor is the speech act involved necessarily that of 'requesting information'. Furthermore, different degrees and kinds of

[1] See Gass 1979, Kellerman 1979, Kohn 1982.

ignorance and uncertainty will not automatically lead to a question on the part of the learner. Leaving the problem of a precise definition aside[1], I shall now outline the data source.

The subjects were German students taking beginners' French courses conducted by three teachers over a period of seven months; the courses were not obligatory courses for the students. The textbook used was *A bientôt*[2], and the course sessions comprised three hours a week. The question data was not deliberately elicited; the data was collected as instances of questions occurred in the course of the lessons. On an average, five questions occurred in each teaching session in one of the courses. To facilitate interpretation, the contexts of the occurrences were also recorded (the items being worked on, the types of activity in class). In cases which were not clearly interpretable, the learners were asked to give their reasons for asking the questions. In order to determine whether the questions were representative of the learner group as a whole and of the group's stage of learning, a kind of identification measure for each question was recorded (ie. how many learners could identify themselves with the question). If all relevant factors are taken into consideration, there must be a much higher number of potential tokens than the circa 500 question types recorded.[3]

3. Learners' questions and language background

In the following, a rough impression of the distribution of the questions in view of the language background of the learners (L1 = German, L2 = the target language French, L3 = English) will be given. For this purpose, a selection of the lessons will be considered during which all 149 occuring questions were recorded. The general distribution is as follows:

A. The question concerns an item in which L1 equals L2: (13 %).

[1] See an attempt at a definition in Raabe 1982a.

[2] *A bientôt* 1, *Französisch für Anfänger*, Herausgegeben von Heinz Haberzettl, Françoise Hön e-Grosjean, Jean-Pol Martin und Rainer Rauch, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 2. Auflage, 1982.

[3] The number of the potential tokens is assumed to be close to 6000.

(1) Warum heisst es hier im Plural nicht *ils ses lavent*?[1]
(Why doesen't it have to be *ils ses lavent* in the plural?)
[IM = 0.5][2].

B. The question refers to a case in which there is a contrast between L1 and L2: (78 %).

(2) Wie sagt der Franzose bei *sie*[3] *ils, elles*, wenn er für eine gemischte Gruppe spricht?
(How do the French choose between *ils* and *elles* when they talk about a mixed group?) [IM = 1].

Of these questions (116 items), 42 were concerned with lexis/semantics, 27 with morphology, 23 with phonology, and 20 with syntax. Four other questions concerning L1/L2 contrast were on cultural and pragmatic contrasts.

C. 9 % of the questions did not seem to be unambiguously classifiable and were not taken into consideration. For example:

(3) *Quatre vingt*, ist das normal? Sagen das auch die Belgier, die Schweizer?
(*Quatre vingt*, is that normal? Is that also said by Belgians and the Swiss?) [IM = 0,75].

D. In addition, we analyzed in how many questions the learner had clearly proceeded from L1 phenomena: the answer was (28 %).

(4) Wann verwendet man *Madame*, wann *Mademoiselle*?[4]
(When does one use *Madame* and when *Mademoiselle*?) [IM = 0.5].

7 % of the questions contain an explicit reference to the L1 formulated by the learner himself (example 5). 4 % were questions containing an explicit reference to the L3 English (example 6).

[1] The learner tends to expand the concept of plurality to the possessive pronoun. Here French and German are similar [sg.+pl.:*se/sich*].

[2] The identity measure (= IM) is calculated as follows: IM = (number of learners identifying themselves with the question asked) : (number of learners in the group) = 9 : 18 = 0.5.

[3] The German *sie* (plural) splits into *ils* and *elles*.

[4] Here the learner felt that the *madame-mademoiselle* distinction in French might not entirely fit within the German distinction *Frau* and *Fräulein*. The question was asked in search of possible pragmatic contrasts between German and French.

(5) Heisst das, dass der 'subjonctif' nach *je ne pense pas* wie im Deutschen gepflegteren Gebrauch bedeutet?

(Does that mean that the 'subjonctif' after *je ne pense pas* reflects a higher stylistic level, as in German?) [IM = 1].

(6) Dann geht wohl das Französische bei *plus cher* wie das Englische?[1]

(Does that mean the French is identical with English in the case of *plus cher*?) [IM = 0, 75].

E. 10 % of the questions refer to a process of generalization in L2.

(7) Wie heisst die weibliche Form von *belge*?
(What is the feminine form of *belge*?) [IM = 0.2].

As mentioned above, these numbers are only intended to give an approximate impression or overview of the distribution of one set of data against the background of the languages (L1, L2, L3) involved, and are not designed to lead to any specific conclusions. But they do show that the majority of the questions are possibly motivated by underlying linguistic contrasts (approx. 80 %), and that within the corpus more than one third of the questions can be proved to be motivated by linguistic contrast, in part with explicit reference to L1 meanings, structures or items. Moreover the explicit reference to previously learnt languages such as English cannot be overlooked.

4. Some assumptions on the cognitive development of leaners' questions

4.1. General structure of learners' questions

Now I should like to take up in more detail certain aspects of the influence of the L1, which a closer analysis of learners' questions suggests. Let me first develop a very general structure. The following steps are proposed for the cognitive development of such language oriented questions:

1. selection 2. reflection 3. setting up a hypothesis 4. formulation

To explain these steps at least roughly, it could be said that in the first phase the initial item is selected within the framework of an interaction, eg. between previous knowledge, linguistic activity

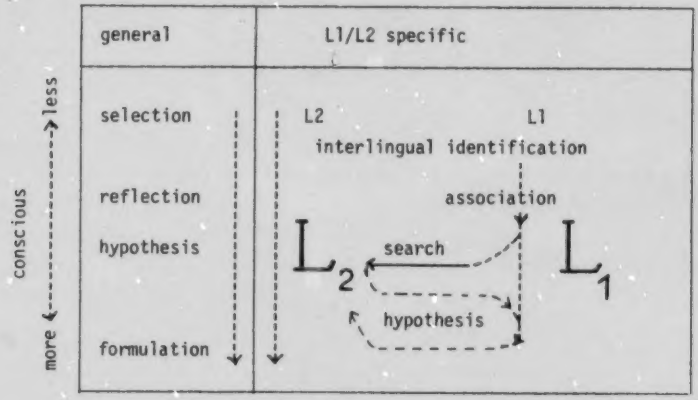
[1] Eg. *more expensive*.

occurring at the moment, or input. In the reflection phase the questioner complements the original item chosen with a more specific and precise block of knowledge which leads to certain specific results, eg. conclusions or statements referring to the contrast between the item structure and this specified block of previous knowledge. The result of this process is transformed into various strong hypotheses, to be verbalized perhaps only later, if the ongoing activity in the classroom does not permit their being verbalized at the moment. Of course, this must be considered a maximal structure which is in many cases abbreviated, above all in the reflection phase and in the phase of setting up a hypothesis. Further on, in individual phases the actual process may be more differentiated.

4.2. The L1 - L2-specific structure of learners' questions

The general structure here proposed is specifiable for the partial corpus under discussion here (consisting of questions referring specifically to L1 knowledge) as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. The general structure of learners' questions as specifiable for the partial corpus under discussion.



The specification process may be illustrated in detail, via the analysis of the following pragmatically motivated question:

(8) Wie sagt eigentlich der Franzose, wenn er wie im Deutschen *stimmt so* ausdrücken will?[1]
(What do you say in French for German *stimmt so* (*keep the change*)?) [IM = 1].

In the selection phase, which takes place largely in the unconscious, an interlingual identification takes place. This proceeds from a situational L2 input leading to the selection of a class of items 'behaviour in Café'. The interlingual identification requires that in the L1 there are comparable rules of linguistic behaviour for café situations. After this selection has taken place, there follows, associatively in the learners' reflection phase, an activation of the previous L1 knowledge 'behaviour in cafés', whereby the item *keep the change* is made available. Later in the reflection phase, the first interlingual identification phase is followed by a second interlingual phase. At this point, the L1 *stimmt so* is assumed to exist in the L2 and a corresponding form is sought. If no equivalent can be found, the question quoted above is asked, which rests on the hypothesis that in the pragmatics of the L2 there exists a form for the situational L1 behaviour *stimmt so*.

If we assume the existence of this more specific L1/L2 structure, we can further assume that the interlingual influence of learner operations in explicit L1/L2 questions can occur on a maximum of three levels: After the formation of a class of items or the selection of one item in one language, which may be either L1 or L2, an interlingual identification[2] takes place first. This operates, then, from L1 to L2 or vice versa. It is possible that, even at this level, an inappropriate equation between the two languages occurs, as we know from the discussion in the literature

[1] This question occurred after the learners had listened to the following text (see *A bientôt* 1:17 (E = Eric, G = le garçon).):

E: S'il vous plait!
G: Monsieur?
E: Je vous dois combien?
G: 12 francs.
E: Pardon?
G: 12 francs.
E: Voilà.
G: Merci, Monsieur.

[2] The concept of interlingual identification used here owes much to the concept developed by Weinreich (1974:7-8).

about the comparability of languages (Coseriu 1972). In the second interlingual phase a searching process in L2 occurs, where a realisation of the L1 items which were associatively determined on the basis of interlingual identification is sought for. Following this phase, the third phase of concrete hypothesis building ends the interlingual process. This third phase can end in a question or, given an appropriate instructional situation, in more or less recognizable interlanguage productions, depending on a series of personal and situational factors. For example, if the knowledge of the learner is above a certain level, then the following question is possible: "When I give a tip can I say *c'est correct, c'est juste,* or *c'est bien comme ça*?" This is clearly a case of hypothesis testing.

The explicit intention in terms of hypothesis testing of the interlanguage performance *c'est bien comme ça* is less obvious. Since no directly comparable situation for the German *stimmt so* exists in French, this could be a case of pragmatic interference. Unlike the instance in which the learner asks a question, we have here no more specific information as to whether transfer has consciously occurred or whether an intentional hypothesis is present.

If the knowledge of the learner is below a certain level, we receive no output in interlanguage concerning this situation. The learner is silent and involuntarily conforms to L2 behaviour. At this stage, as we saw in the above example, questions may, however, be produced.

It is possible to gain more specific information about the level of consciousness of interlingual operations from questions of this type which, in comparison to interlanguage output alone, represent additional natural data.[1] The influence of L1 on foreign language learning behaviour, in the special case of transfer and interference processes, should not be examined as a simple interlingual process to conform to the question phase model presented here. Rather, a three-phase interlingual model could be posited which also reflected

[1] As the data reveals a kind of natural introspective information on the part of the learner which has not been artificially elicited, the critical observations by Seliger concerning the use of introspective data in the explanation of second language acquisition (Seliger 1983) are surely not valid here.

an increasingly more precise analysis on the part of the learner of the L1 elements which exert their influence on the analytic process.

5. Aspects of transfer in learners' questions

In addition to the above general comments on L1-L2 interaction and its occurrence in the learner, five further aspects of crosslinguistic learner behaviour will be briefly discussed such as they appear in learners' questions.

(1) This point correlates to what was above described as the level of learner consciousness in interlingual operations. It seems that as the level of consciousness in the interlingual phases increases, L1/L3 influences which lead to automaticism or performance phenomena are eliminated. This of course does not exclude errors in hypothesis building by the learner. Learners' questions seem to be largely based on competence, if one wants to use this simplifying term in the interlanguage context, or rather on the learners' actual linguistic knowledge of L2.[1]

The following sequence might be cited as an illustration of the above assumption:

(9) L: "*Je ne peux pas tout faire*, steht denn das *tout* richtig?"

T: "Ja, aber wie kommst du darauf?"

L: "Eigentlich stehen die Objekte nach dem Verb, wie im Englischen."

T: "Ja, das stimmt auch bis auf Ausnahmen."

L: "Nun, wenn das hier auch eine Alternative hätte, dann bräuchte ich mir nur die Englischregel weiter merken:"

(L: "*Je ne peux pas tout faire*, is the *tout* in the right place?"

T: "Yes, but why do you ask?"

L: "Actually the object comes after the verb, like in English."

T: "That's right, with some exceptions."

L: "Well, if this here had an alternative, then I'd only need to remember the English rule.") [IM = 0.75].

[1] See eg. Sharwood Smith (1983) for a discussion of these issues.

(2) The second point refers to the association section of the reflection phase and relates to the fact that questions which occur while hearing or reading L2 input, texts from L2 grammar sections, etc. show L1 influence which is not, as a rule, clearly interpretable on the basis of interlanguage output data alone, as such data is based on productive skills.

(10) *Prendre*, heisst das auch *bestellen*, also *Monsieur, je voudrais prendre?*

(Can *prendre* be used for *order*, ie. *Monsieur, je voudrais prendre?*) [IM = 0.25].

The question analysis could thus be useful, for example, for a better understanding of transfer or of interference processes which refer to the level of learning, as it occurs in L2 reception.

(3) The third point refers to the reflection phase: learners' questions help reveal L1 influences on both the reception and the production by the learner of the L2 in a relatively specific way, which can probably not be accomplished through a mere analysis of interlanguage surface data alone.

(11) Wie kann ich denn beim Kind im Französischen Neutrales ausdrücken?

(How can one express a neutral gender when referring to a child?) [IM = 0.75].

(12) Wenn *garçon* auch *Junge* heisst, kann ich denn dann auch einen älteren Ober *garçon* rufen?

(If *garçon* means also *boy*, how can one refer to an elderly waiter?) [IM = 0.5].

(4) The fourth point refers to a testing element in the reflection phase, indicating that we do not only receive additional data about L1 influence from question analysis, but also information about the factors which can promote the occurrence of transfer, for example

(13) L: "Alors, je mets la clé dans un couvert."

T: "Couvert?"

L: "Was ist denn das Genus von *enveloppe*?"

(L: "Alors, je mets la clé dans un couvert."

T: "Couvert?"

L: "What is the gender of *enveloppe*?")

This example shows that the learner decides to use the interference form *le couvert* in the utterance process, because the knowledge of the gender is missing for the known lexical alternative *enveloppe*. Indeed,

considerations concerning the theme of L2 production strategies can be included here.[1]

(5) The fifth point refers directly to the phenomenon of learner associations in the reflection phase of question formation. It focuses on the fact that learners tend to give to an L2 expression such associations as are present for the learner in L1, especially in the receptive phase. This could be illustrated by example (14) and the sequence (15a - 15b).

(14) Wir hatten *le, la* und *un*; gibt es auch etwas dazwischen, wie *Ich will Camembert*?

(We have talked about *le, la* and *un*. Now isn't there something in between, as in *Ich will Camembert*?) [IM = 1].

(15a) *Moins cher*, ja, was heisst dann aber *billig*?

(*Moins cher* equals less expensive, how does one then say *cheap*?) [IM = 1].

Question (15a) was immediately followed by question (15b).

(15b) Heisst das auch *billig* im anderen Sinn?

(Can that also refer to *billig* [*cheap*] in the other sense?) [IM = 0.75].

As we see, learners try to draw associative conclusions from L2 analogously to the L1 fields of association, although such associations tend to be L1-specific.

It is worth considering here to what extent the results which can be more specifically obtained from analyses of learner questions can be used for the construction of pedagogical materials (see Raabe 1982b).

6. Conclusion

The points taken up above and the general argumentation above cannot be an exhaustive and fully differentiated treatment of learners' questions. Moreover, I have not tried to relate my findings explicitly to current theories and hypotheses about second language acquisition. Since, however, the analysis of learners' questions has so far not been taken up in cross-linguistic studies, my primary interest was to give more weight to the hypothesis that the analysis of learners' questions could contribute

[1] One possible hypothesis which could be advanced here is that the learner, if uncertain, either chooses the form which damages his reputation as an advanced learner less, or the form which has received less negative sanctioning in the classroom.

to a better understanding of cross-linguistic phenomena.

Thus it seems quite possible that the component 'influence of L1 (and L3)' can be made more precise within a comprehensive theory of second language learning. Such a more precise definition says that, during instruction with explicative phases (without a special inclusion of contrastive awareness activity), beginning adult learners include a great many elements of L1 (and L3) in their hypothesis formation. This happens with a high probability level wherever elements or structures from the L1 (or L3) offer themselves for use in a process of problem-solving or explanation. A qualitative difference between L1 and L3 influences exists to the effect that (see Example 9) L3 is normally used the form of explicit, earlier-learned rules or more clearly outlined (defined) earlier-learned concepts for question formation. The outlines of rules and concepts from L1 are, on the other hand, more likely to be present in an unconscious form which is intentionally less specifically defined.

Furthermore it seems to be possible, by means of question analysis, to crystalize different influence levels of L1 (or L3) which are the basis of hypothesis formation for questioning. This was shown in the suggested developmental structure of questions (see Section 4).

Finally, we receive information (not available from the analysis of interlanguage output data to the same extent) about L1 (and L3) influences in the phases of the (first) receptive processing of L2 items and structures, information about L1 (and L3) influences on the level of the learner's metalinguistic activity, and information about L1 (and L3) specific associations within L2. This information is clearly based on the linguistic knowledge of the learner and not 'confounded' by performance influences.

If we consider learners' questions to be data that is, as a rule, cognitive, conscious, based on reflection, not artificially elicited, guided to a high degree by interest, consciously communicated, and controlled by the learner, we can assume that questions constitute data of particular potential relevance and importance for a variety of important issues in interlanguage and cross-linguistic research.

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QUESTIONING STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH AND SWEDISH CONVERSATION

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INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this paper, which is based on English and Swedish tape-recordings, is to describe *how the questioner formulates the Q move* and, to some extent, *how the respondent reacts to it* in two different categories of conversation, informal and formal. A secondary purpose is to describe *what different strategies are used for*. My original assumption was that differences in planning and reacting would not depend so much on the language spoken but rather on the type of conversation, whether it was informal or formal, and on the purpose of questioning, whether a Q was posed because the questioner wanted information or for some other reason. I assumed that straight simple Qs would be typical of casual or informal conversation but that the questioner would proceed stepwise in more formal conversations, such as discussions.

PRELIMINARIES

The degree of complexity in Q strategies can be described in terms of 'how many steps are taken' before the questioner gives away the turn to the respondent. Simple Q strategies consist of only one step, the Q move itself, whereas complex strategies consist of at least two steps, as in Figure 1.

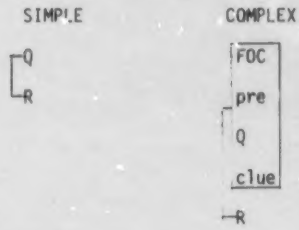


Figure 1. Simple and complex Q strategies.[1]

I deal with Q and R in terms of Exchanges, Moves, and Acts; both terminology and definitions are mainly a modified version of the Sinclair & Coulthard 1975 model.

[1]For the coding conventions see the Appendix.

By EXCHANGE I understand what Coulthard & Brazil (1981) define as the unit concerned with negotiating the transmission of information and its polarity. My concept of Exchange differs from theirs in that it allows for optional, embedded exchanges, as is illustrated in the model below, which captures the types of exchange that I deal with in the paper:

(FOC) Q (Qc R)) (Fn).

Exchanges consist of:

MOVES which indicate what the utterance *does* in the discourse and consist of one or more

ACTS which indicate what the utterance *means* at a certain point in the on-going discourse.

The only obligatory moves are Q and R. The model above consists of a

FOCUSING move (FOC) which introduces the exchange. This is mostly done directly by the

ELICITING move (Q).

CHECKING moves (Qc) hold up the progress of the exchange until certain points have been clarified. This move has to be responded to before the

RESPONDING move (R to Q1) follows.

FOLLOW-UP moves (F) terminate the exchange and indicate the questioner's attitude to R or the respondent's ratification of the questioner's F move (in case there is more than one F).

Moves consist of ACTS. There are three different Q acts involved:

Q:info asks for relevant information;

Q:pol requires a polarity decision;

Q:confi asks for confirmation, agreement or acknowledgement.

Other acts are:

metastatements comment on the act of asking and serve to introduce an Elicit (occurs in the Focus move);

pre's serve to introduce and prepare the wey for the focal Q;

clues add information with respect to the preceding Q act.

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate simple and complex Q strategies:

(1)	A:	┌Q	+is/this a spare PAPER//+	
	D:	└R	(([ə] /YEAH//	
			I actually/got it for YOU//))	
	A:	F	/thank you very MUCH//	1.1. 32-35

(2) A: FOC /can I ASK though//
pre /how IS the new syllabus { /working OUT//} { for /SECOND year people//} //
Q /can we - - I/mean are you GETTING enough TEACHING//. or/are you being./please don't MISUNDERSTAND me /OVER-TAUGHT//
clue /that is to SAY//. being/asked to ATTEND//. /more SEMINARS// /more TUTORIALS// than/you can PREPARE for// -
B: R ((NATURALLY//)). it de/pends very MUCH// /what combination of courses you're DOING// 3.3. 714-727

A Focusing move opens the exchange by introducing a Q which is pushed down to pre-function due to its position. The pre act is followed by a second Q which functions as an 'elicitation', ie. it is the Q which is responded to after the specification given in the clue act.

I studied four English and four Swedish conversations which are described in Figure 2.

	TEXT number	SPEAKERS number	sex	relations	CONVERSATION topic	type
ENGLISH	1.1	2	M/M	colleagues	professional matters	friendly talk
	1.8	3	F/F	colleagues	pictures	exchange of opinions
	3.3	6	M/F	administrator/ students	study situation	discussion
	3.4	7	M/M	same/staff	teaching conditions	discussion
SWEDISH	4:1	4	M/F	head of project/ parents	children's books on sex	preparatory talk
	5:1	4	M/M	same/libra-rians	the buying of books	preparatory talk
	4:2	4	M/F	same as 4:1	same as 4:1	discussion
	5:2	4	M/M	same as 5:1	same as 5:1	discussion

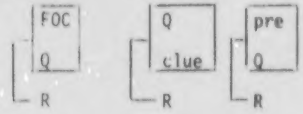
Figure 2. Corpus description.

DISCUSSION

Let us consider what complex strategies can do that simple questioning cannot by looking at examples from the data (the English examples are simplified).

TWO STEPS. - Two-step strategies may be seen as basic insofar as the same moves and acts occur in more complex strategies, only more elaborate combinations. The following two-step strategies occurred:

TWO STEPS



(3) A: FOC Q /*what I mean* ĪS//
the/whole point here is WÔRTH//.
/ÎSN'T it//
B: R /that's/that's the word he's ĂFTER//
/YES// 1.1
639-643

The Q move is introduced by a Focusing move, realized by a metastatement, which explicitly signals that there is more to come. The hearer is thus prepared for the following, but there is nothing in this procedure (at least not in this example) that makes it easier for him to respond. Examples (4) and (5) are different in that respect:

(4) A: Q clue /have you MĒT our man Yoolet YĒT//
+((*the/one who's a student for the.*))+
DIPLŎMA//
B: R +[ə:]/NŌ//
((/NŌ//))+
/NŌ//
A: F /MHM// 1.1
557-562

A's intention is obviously to specify Q by giving additional information, thus making it easier for B to answer *yes* or *no*. A similar specifying effect can be obtained by asking two successive Qs:

(5) A: pre /how's all the TUTORIAL side// - - -
Q [ə:] /departmental TUTOR side//
is/THAT all right//
D: R /[ṁ]//
R - - - /GOOD//
it/all depends on . who you've ... 3.3
1057-62

The first Q, which has been relegated to a pre due to its position, is specified in the second Q. Normally, the second Q takes over the eliciting function in similar sequences, but in this case (multiparty conversation) both Qs are responded to, by different speakers.

However, the clue act had this specifying function in very few cases, three out of 11 in the English conversations and nowhere in the Swedish conversations. The narrowing-down, specifying effect of the pre + Q procedure was a little more common, and somewhat more common for English than for Swedish.

There are obviously other reasons why the questioner uses the two-step strategy. In an earlier study of a larger English corpus (Stenström 1982: 217-226) I found that Q + clue often serves a 'social' purpose. By adding information which is superfluous from the point of view of making Q easier to respond to, the clue act contributes to making the conversation livelier and more personal and engeging. Such information may reflect the questioner's personal opinion, as in:

(4) Q /how do you get ON {with/this fellow HART// } //
clue *I mean he's a /NICE fellow NORMALLY//* 1.1
1040-41

or offer a reason for asking:

(5) Q ((have you/got)) a PEN//
clue *I'll/leave a MESSAGE//* 1.8
360-361

or give any kind of background information that the questioner associates with Q.

Pre + Q, on the other hand, often has an 'interactive' purpose. The pre act may be interded to offer the turn to the hearer, as in (6), where the long pause after 'what else' seems to indicate that this is an invitation to bring up a new subject for discussion:

(6) pre */well what ELSE//* -
Q /how do you [əm]/how are communications with the STAFF// -
3.3
468-469

But the same procedure is sometimes used for the questioner's own benefit, as in (7), where the pre serves as a turn-holding device which also gives him some extra time for consideration:

(7) pre /*what* ELSE//
Q /haven't been up to . WALES again HAVE you//. 7.3f 741-742

Finally, pre + Q allows for reformulation, which sometimes leads to specification, sometimes not:

(8) pre /*is this* FAIR//
Q is/this what HAPPENS in English// 3.3 162-163

In this data, the pre + Q procedure was somewhat more common in the Swedish conversations while Q + clue occurred more frequently in the English conversations.

In a larger English corpus (Stenström 1982:217-226) I found that the most common formal realization of Q + clue was a *yes/no*-Q followed by a declarative and that pre + Q typically consisted of a *Wh*-Q plus a *yes/no*-Q. This was confirmed by the present data for Q + clue but not for pre + Q, which was more often realized by a *yes/no*-Q followed by another *yes/no*-Q. Interestingly, exactly the same is true for the Swedish conversations.

MORE THAN TWO STEPS. - What can be achieved by using more intricate combinations is illustrated in examples (9), (2), and (10):

(9) A: pre [ə.]/*how about* [ə:m] . *duplicate* COPIES// - - -
clue I/mean [ə : i: i:]//
I suppose it's reasonable to EXPECT//
/YOU know//
/every/every . person reading ENGLISH//
to have/BOUGHT or//
/somehow to have been given their own copies of
SHAKESPEARE// .
/but [ə:] THAT isn't the point//
the/point is that you've got { MASSES of }
CRITICISM to { /READ// } //
C: /[M]//
(A: Q [ə :m] /IS this available// -
C: R /NO// .
+((there/aren't))+ 3.3 281-291

This procedure allows A to bring up a problem in fairly vague terms to start with and then go on, if necessary, and specify exactly what he means. It may or may not be a conscious strategy. It is probably conscious in this example. The very long pause after 'duplicate copies' seems to indicate that A expects an R at this point. But the absence of R shows that nobody is ready to respond, and this prompts him to be more explicit, which he may or may not have anticipated.

In (9) the focal Q, the one to be answered, was asked in the first Q act, ie. step one. In (10), on the other hand, the focal Q is not arrived at until step four, which reflects a different planning:

(10)	A:	pre	+/is this+ ÉVEN so//	
		meta	/may I/may I put a a/[pu]/try and . put a POINT//.	
		pre	/is this EVEN so// on the/rooms which look back onto the ZOOLOGY building// - ae ac/cepting the fact that zoology will not be rebuilt every YEAR// -+	
		Q	*it's/STILL NOISY//* */even on THAT side IS +it//+*	
	B:	R	/YES// oh/YES// .	3.4 357-367

The Q act is carefully prepared, and what might be necessary information is given beforehand. It follows that in (9), the focal Q does not function as an elicitation, whereas in (10), it does.

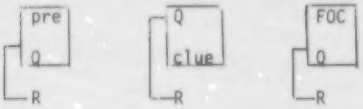
Instead of presenting a large problem at once in a complex Q strategy it is sometimes favourable to divide it up into smaller bits and finally arrive at some kind of conclusion. In that case we get a series of Q R exchanges which achieve the same purpose as a complex Q strategy followed by a complex R.

B RESOURCE. - If the respondent does not understand what the questioner is talking about he can either remain silent, which he does not normally do since he wants to cooperate, or he can ask for clarification or repetition, as in

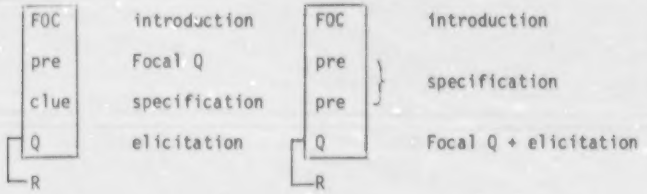
(11) b: ┌Q /were you there when they erected the new SIGNS// -
a: ┌Qc /WHICH new +signs//+
b: └R +/litt+le NOTICE BOARDS// /indicating where you had to go for EVERYTHING//
a: └R /NÓ// - 5.9 50-54

SUMMING-UP. - The various ways open to the questioner to specify Q in order to get an appropriate R can be summed up as follows:

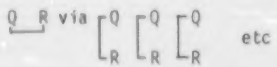
TWO STEPS



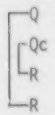
MORE THAN TWO STEPS



REPEATED ONE-STEPS



B RESOURCE



These strategies are sometimes consciously planned, sometimes necessitated by the respondent's behaviour.

DISTRIBUTION. - The distribution of simple and complex Q strategies in English and Swedish per conversation type appears in Table 1.

INFORMAL		%	FORMAL		%
ENGLISH			ENGLISH		
1,1	6/31	20	3,3	17/55	30
1,8	2/36	06	3,4	10/15	70
SWEDISH			SWEDISH		
4:1	17/66	26	4:2	11/34	32
5:1	4/62	06	5:2	7/9	78

Table 1. Simple and complex Q strategies in informal and formal conversation (the first figure indicates the number of complex strategies, the second the total number of Q - R exchanges).

The total number of Q - R exchanges was much lower in discussions than in informal conversation, except in 3.3, which is an example of 'repeated questioning'. And generally, complex strategies were much more common in discussions than in informal talk in both English and Swedish. Note especially texts 3.4 and 5.2, which contained more complex than simple Q strategies.

What is not reflected in Table 1 is that:

- half of the complex strategies consisted of only two steps in both English and Swedish;
- the complex strategies were generally more intricate in the English discussions than in the Swedish ones; four-step strategies occurred in the Swedish discussions but up to six-step strategies in the English ones; and
- other than two-step strategies were rare in informal conversation.

INFORMAL. - In the informal conversations people generally asked each other Qs consisting of two steps. As appears in Table 1, the same variation occurred in English and Swedish. But the reasons differ. The difference between the English conversations seems to depend on *what the Qs were used for* and on *what types of Q act were involved*. The colleagues in 1.8, for example, used Q:conf to express their feelings and impressions when faced with a collection of paintings instead of just stating what they felt, as in:

(12) /they're . really UNDISTINGUISHED//
/AREN'T they//

1.8
103-104

(13) it's /quite NICE { to /LOOK at as[ɔ]// }//
/just a series of PICTURES though//
/ISN'T it//

1.8
584-586

and Q:conf are not normally constituents of complex Q strategies, since there is no transmission of information involved on the part of B, who is only asked to confirm what is suggested by A.

In 1.1, on the other hand, there is also a certain number of Q:info and Q:pol, which means that B is asked to supply information, and this forces A to be more precise, which sometimes results in complex Q strategies.

The difference between the Swedish conversations seems to depend on *who asked the Qs and on what subject*. There were more complex (two-step) strategies in 4:1 than in 5:1. 'Children's books on sex' in 4:1 obviously involved the speakers in a livelier conversation than 'the bying of books for libraries' in 5:1, and lively conversation is often characterized by two-step Qs. As to the groups of speakers, it is possible that the librarians, as a professional category, had a tendency to use a fairly strict language as compared to the parent group. Or, which remains to be proved, there may be a male/female discinction; women may simply not ask straightforward Qs to the same extent as men do.

Considering what the complex Q strategies do in text 4:1, it turns out that the pre + Q procedure is mostly used to reformulate and specify in Q what was vague or incomplete in the pre act, as in:

(14)

pre	hur gammal e dina	(how old are yours)
Q	eller ja menar hur gammal e ditt↓(p)	(or I mean how old is yours)

4:1
208-209

what is done by the clue act in Q + clue, on the other hand, is mostly irrelevant from the point of view of specification, as in:

(15)

Q	hur har ni plockat ut folk	(how did you pick people)
clue	att ni har plockat ut Hans kan ja förstå↓	(I can understand that you picked Hans)

4:1
78-79

Pre + Q is consequently important for an appropriate completion of the exchange, whereas Q + clue serves a social purpose in the first place.

FORMAL. - In discussions, the speaker who manages to get the floor generally keeps it for quite a while, and this may result in fairly long and complex strategies both with respect to questioning and responding. This may be one reason why there were fewer Q - R exchanges altogether in the discussions than in the informal conversations (with the exception of 3.3).

A direct comparison is possible between the Swedish conversations where not only the speakers are the same in both types but where also the topic remains the same.

Except for the reduced number of Q - R exchanges in 4:2 as compared to 4:1, there is no great difference between the way Qs are asked in the preparatory talk and the discussion. But why are there so few Q - R exchanges in 5:2 and why are almost all the Q moves complex? I can think of two reasons: one is that the librarians were more aware of the new situation than the parent group and tried to adapt their contributions accordingly, another that they were discussing facts to a greater extent than the parents, who were rather supposed to express their personal opinions.

That the way questioning is done differs depending on *who participates* is particularly obvious if one compares the Q strategies in the English discussions, 3.3 and 3.4, where one of the speakers, the administrator, is the same in both while the co-participants differ, students in 3.3 and staff in 3.4. When the administrator is talking to the undergraduates, he is not only more explicit but he also asks a much larger number of Qs. The main reason for the large number of Qs seems to be that the Rs were not exhaustive enough so that new Qs had to make up for the deficiency. A secondary reason may be that it is sometimes more profitable to ask one simple Q at a time than to present an intricate problem in one go. This might account for the fact that only 17 out of the 55 Q moves were complex.

The large number of Qs in 3.3 gave the discussion the character of an interview, but text 3.4, with more complex than simple Q strategies, has the character of a geniune discussion in that all the speakers involved made fairly long contributions and in that new issues were brought up by any of the participants. Both Q and R moves were generally extensive.

Long and intricate Q moves do not only make it possible for the questioner to explain exactly what he means; they also permit him to give certain background facts, account for what has already been done to try to solve a problem, express his personal opinion of the problem and so on. Rs following such Q moves are by force very long since not only what is asked for, but also the questioner's standpoint, etc., should be responded to.

CONCLUSIONS

According to this data it can be concluded that:

- two-step strategies are typical of informal talk with speakers of equal status and have a social or specifying purpose, depending on what Q acts are involved;
- Q strategies of more than two steps are typical of formal talk and aim at getting the message through; and
- Focusing moves are typical of discussions while Follow-up moves occur in both informal and formal conversations.

In these respects, there is no difference between the English and Swedish conversations.

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CODING CONVENTIONS.

Appendix.

ENGLISH		SWEDISH	
/	onset	↓	fall
//	end of tone unit	↑	rise
( )	subordinate tone unit	(p)	pause
ˊ	rise		
ˋ	fall		
—	level		
ˇ	fall-rise		
.	short pause		
-	long pause		
+ +	simultaneous speech		
(( ))	uncertain		

PRAGMATIC EQUIVALENCE IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES: REQUESTS IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

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Even a cursory glance at recent contributions to our "contrastive enterprise" allows one to observe that the need for the incorporation of pragmatic considerations into Contrastive Analysis (CA) is becoming more and more evident. While some researchers approach the pragmatic phenomena involved in linguistic communication across languages from the point of view of the relevance of these phenomena to L_2 acquisition (cf. Walters 1979, House and Kasper 1981, Fraser 1978), others prefer to tackle the pragmatic aspects of CA from a theoretical standpoint (Riley 1979, Krzeszowski in press, Oleksy in press).

Of particular interest for my purposes in this paper is Krzeszowski's (in press) illuminating paper dealing with the fundamental concept of CA, namely that of Tertium Comparationis (TC). In his paper, Krzeszowski distinguishes seven types of equivalence. Following James (1980), although disagreeing with him as to the role that different types of equivalence play in the establishing of translation-equivalents across languages, he argues for the introduction of Pragmatic Equivalence (PEq) into CA and discusses, among other things, the type of relationship that holds between PEq and other types of equivalence. Krzeszowski's contribution to the explication of the concept of equivalence in CA has been substantial (Krzeszowski 1971, 1979, 1981), which has been widely acknowledged (see Bouton 1976, van Buren 1976, Sajavaara 1977). However, in his recent paper Krzeszowski (in press) has not attempted a definition of PEq although, it must be admitted, he has postulated PEq as one of the seven types of equivalence.

It is worthwhile adding at this point that the concept of PEq, to the best knowledge of the present author, has never been defined by contrastive linguists though, it must be stressed, there exists a good deal of work in which reference is made to various types of pragmatic correspondencies across languages. More importantly, the existing definitions of equivalence, irrespectively of the number of types being distinguished and the nature of restrictions imposed on each type, have not been designed as as to capture pragmatic phenomena.

This contention brings me to the presentation of the main objectives of this paper: in what follows I will attempt a definition of PEq and then I will try to show how the concept of PEq can be employed in the analysis of Requests in English and Polish. I will also comment briefly on some aspects of the pedagogical implications of what might be termed 'applied contrastive pragmatics'.

The theoretical framework within which I propose to consider PEq is Speech Act Theory (SAT) augmented by elements of Social Psychology (in the sense of van Dijk 1981). I have dealt with the general framework of Contrastive Pragmatics elsewhere (Oleksy in press) and for this reason and also because of the scope of the present paper questions pertaining to the general scheme of Contrastive Pragmatics will not be elaborated on here.

It must be admitted that there exists a fairly large amount of studies whose authors exploit the notion of Speech Act (SA) for various comparative purposes. One of them is, for instance, Walters (1979), who reports on the strategies used by a population of bilingual children for conveying the speech act of request in Spanish and English. In his paper, request, as a SA, is the communicative category being compared on the basis of syntactic and pragmatic features that underlie its use by speakers of Spanish and English.

Walter's paper deserves attention for at least two reasons:

1. it is one of the pioneering attempts at the investigation of the acquisition of pragmatic competence in a second language;
2. it provides a (preliminary) methodological framework for conducting empirical research on pragmatic phenomena across languages.

However, it must be stressed that Walter's study, despite its merits pointed out above, can not be accepted without hesitation mainly because it lacks a systematic relationship to a theoretical model, which would guarantee that the phenomena investigated are not ephemeral and the basic concepts hazy. This remark concerns such concepts as, for instance, 'strategy' and 'request'. In both cases, and the same can be said in connection with Walter's treatment of 'politeness', the explanations provided for these concepts are misty or simply non-existent. By way of illustration it can be observed that one finds it hard to accept that "...strategy is defined here by the semantic form of the utterance" (Walters 1979:279). According to this definition, strategy is defined

solely in terms of the semantic characterization of the sentential form which is used in the performance of a SA. In fact, strategy is equated with the sentential form. If one adopts this definition of strategy one is forced to accept that there may exist an infinite number of strategies for the performance of a SA. This is a rather pessimistic perspective for an applied linguist oriented towards a second language learner.

One problem with this approach to strategies seems to be related to the lack of criteria enabling one to identify strategies for the performance of a SA. It will be claimed here that the criteria for the identification of strategies should be based on semantic and pragmatic characterization of the SA which is to be performed, on the one hand, and on the data drawn from empirical research on the communicative behaviour of the speakers performing a particular SA in concrete communicative contexts, on the other. In particular, it will be suggested here, though this point will not be dealt with in any detail in this paper, that the study of strategies for the performance of a SA be related to Felicity Conditions (FCs) characterizing a given SA and Social-psychological as well as Socio-cultural norms acceptable in a given speech community.

In what follows I wish to demonstrate why it makes sense to talk about comparability of SAs across languages. In doing so I will employ the standard jargon of SAT though I realize that the jargon I have here in mind may be controversial.

As is well known, SAs as minimal units of verbal communication (see Searle 1969) are said to be representative of communicative functions, or illocutionary functions to be precise, and as such are assumed to be language universal. This is more or less expressed in the claim recently put forth by Fraser, Rintell and Walters (1979) as reported in Walters (1979). I repeat this claim for convenience here.

> Claim 1. Every language makes available to the user the same basic set of speech acts such as requesting, apologizing, declaring, promising, and the like...

From the contrastive point of view, however, this claim must be further elaborated on so that the comparability of SAs across languages is asserted and not implied. As the first approximation I would like to suggest that Claim 1 be substituted by Claim 2 since the latter seems to be better suited for contrastive purposes.

Claim 2. Speech acts across languages are equivalent if they allow the users to achieve corresponding communicative and social goals.

From the above it follows that SA is conceived of as a pragmatic category representing a relation holding between language users and different communicative and societal tasks that language users may fulfill through the use of language.

Claim 2, it must be noted, states the relation of equivalence of SAs across languages in terms of their *functioning* in the respective languages and societies. What it does not state is when and how SAs across languages are equivalent at the level of their *production*. It will be claimed that at the level of production SAs should be accounted for relative to conditions which characterize them as autonomous pragmatic categories. The conditions I have in mind have been called Felicity Conditions (FC) and they are abstractions representing the speaker's beliefs and assumptions about the interlocutor, the communicative context, and the speaker's knowledge of the world. In other words, FCs characterize SAs; in fact, they define SAs. In view of the above, it will be assumed that every SA is characterized by a set of FCs which delimit pragmatic categories, ie. SAs. The above approach to SAs makes it possible now to put forth Claim 3.

Claim 3. Equivalent speech acts across languages are characterized by the same set of Felicity Conditions.

One advantage of Claim 3 over Claim 1 seems to be the fact that the former is not as strong as the latter. Claim 3 allows for a hypothetical situation in which a SA in L_1 may not be related to a SA in L_2 especially when it is realized that linguistic interaction is derivative of social interaction and the social norms that are acceptable and prevailing in one society and culture do not have to be the same for all societies and cultures. For reasons of scope I will not dwell on the implications of Claim 1 for contrastive studies of SAs any longer.

Returning now to Claim 3, I wish to propose FCs for the Speech Act of Request (SARq). FCs presented in (1) below will be claimed to characterize Request as a speech act.

(1) Felicity Conditions for SARq

1. S wants X to be done

2. S wants H to do X
3. S believes H is able to do X
4. S believes H is willing to do X
5. S believes H will not do X in absence of Rq
6. S believes X is acceptable in SC
7. S believes Rq is acceptable in CC

where: S = speaker
H = addressee
X = a future act of H desired by S
CC = communicative context in which S and H perform
SC = socio-cultural context in which S and H perform
Rq = a linguistic expression used by S in the performance of SARq

The FCs presented in (1), as was mentioned earlier on in this paper, characterize Request as a Speech Act (SARq). In fact, SARq is defined as a communicative category via FCs. There have been numerous other proposals accounting for SARq (see Searly 1975, House and Kasper 1981, Leech 1980).

House and Kasper (1981) characterize request as 'pre-event' and 'anti-Y', which means that the requested event takes place after the utterance of the speech act and is at a cost to the addressee. These are correct observations concerning SARq. At the first glance, the 'pre-event', 'anti-Y' features of SARq seem to be missing from FCs proposed in (1). However, upon closer inspection, it turns out that they can be deduced from (1): the 'pre-event' feature of the requested act is jointly accounted for by FC-1 and FC-5. From FC-1 it follows that an act "X" is anticipated and desired by the speaker, which entails futurity. The same can be deduced from FC-5.

Leech (1980:106) while discussing the speech acts of Command and Request expresses a view that "command and request differ only in that request allows optional compliance". Here again, this feature of request, although not stated explicitly in (1), can be deduced from FC-4, which is postulated only for request and not for command.

Now I would like to pass to the often discussed issue of the distinction between Direct/Indirect Speech Act. The validity of this distinction has been seriously questioned both on theoretical grounds (Leech 1980, and especially Van der Auwera 1981) as well as on the grounds of its being irrelevant from the point of view of the comprehension of SAs (Gibbs 1979). My position in this respect is the following. In actual

verbal interaction the transparency of illocutionary force exhibited by linguistic expressions that are being used in the performance of a SA does not seem to be a decisive factor. What underlies the speaker's decisions as to which expression is to be selected on a particular occasion are contextual factors and such pragmatic factors as, for example, politeness and mitigation. The findings of the Bochum Project, as reported in House and Kasper (1981) show that, for instance, levels of directness are more decisive than the direct/indirect SA distinction. The empirical data reported on in House and Kasper (1981) indicate that indirect requests are on the whole more frequent that the direct ones both in English and German, though the two languages display differences as to the levels of directness. The results of the psychological research on the processes by which speakers interpret indirect requests cast considerable doubt on the claim advanced in Clark and Lucy (1975), according to which the understanding of indirect requests is a serial process involving the understanding of the direct act first. Gibbs (1979:1) reports on experimental data and concludes that "a person understanding an indirect request in context need not construct the literal interpretation before deriving the conveyed request".

In view of the above, FCs proposed in (1) will be claimed to characterize SARq irrespectively of the superficial form of the expression with which the speech act of request is performed. This approach to the role of FCs in characterizing SAs allows for a uniform treatment of (2) and (3) below.

(2) I request that you help me.
(3) Why aren't you helping me?

Both examples are due to Fraser (1978).

Both (2) and (3) can be realizations of SARq if they are characterized by FCs proposed in (1). In both cases the speaker who uttered (2) or (3) has issued a request if his assumptions about the addressee, the communicative context and the act desired can be related to the FCs proposed in (1). Thus (2) and (3) and all other utterances which can be related to the FCs for SARq are equivalent pragmatically. In order to avoid misunderstanding, it will be suggested that the notion 'pragmatic equivalence' be conceived of as either inter-lingual equivalence, or intra-lingual equivalence. (2) and (3) are cases of intra-lingual equivalence. With this distinction in mind, it is clear that the primary

interest for contrastive pragmatics is inter-lingual equivalence. However, I would like to stress that the two types of pragmatic equivalence are related and a contrastive approach to pragmatic phenomena cannot be succesfully carried out without recourse to intra-lingual pragmatic equivalence.

In the above I wanted to show how the claim concerning the equivalence of SAs across languages can be defended in the context of SAT. The often assumed, but hardly ever defined, equivalence of SAs across languages has been related to FCs which guarantee the isolation of corresponding entities in the languages compared.

As will become apparent in the following section of this paper, the above approach to equivalence of speech acts across languages is but one possible way of dealing with pragmatic equivalence.

The other approach which I now wish to propose takes as the basic unit of comparison not a SA but a linguistic expression which on a particular occasion counts as the performance, ie. realization of the SA. Accordingly, I propose that Pragmatic Equivalence PEq be defined as follows:

> Claim 4. A linguistic expression X_1 in L_1 is *pragmatically equivalent* to a linguistic expression X_2 in L_2 if X_1 and X_2 can be used in the performance of the same SA in L_1 and L_2 relative to the corresponding set of pragmatic, contextual and socio-cultural factors.

I will not deal here with pragmatic, contextual and socio-cultural factors. Suffice it to say that they, roughly, contain the following:

Pragmatic Factors: politeness, deference, modality markers,...
Contextual Factors: conversational context, type of discourse, factual background information,...
Socio-cultural Factors: role relationship, distance, channel, cultural setting,...

The contribution of pragmatic, contextual, and socio-cultural factors in the realization of a particular SA, and especially the role these factors play in the decision-making concerning the speaker's choice of a particular linguistic expression in the performance of a SA should be studied, I believe, within an empirical model of linguistic communication comprising not only pragmatic, contextual and socio-cultural as-

pects but also social-psychological aspects (see in this connection Dijk 1981). Given the preliminary nature of research dealing with the above questions it becomes very important that a methodology for the study of these phenomena be proposed.

Returning now to Claim 4 it is important to notice that we are no longer dealing with an abstract category of a SA but with concrete utterances of linguistic expressions used by the speakers of L_1 and L_2 in the performance of a SA on a particular occasion. The above approach to PEq provides a convenient framework of CA wherein the pragmatic, the contextual and the socio-cultural features of linguistic expressions in L_1 and L_2, as *actually used* by the interactants of verbal communications, can be studied. What is perhaps even more important is the realization that the above definition of PEq be seen as a step towards creating a model of Contrastive Pragmatics allowing one to study phenomena underlying speakers' decisions concerning the choice of one linguistic expression over another in the performance of SAs from the contrastive point of view. As is well known, the choice of a particular linguistic expression in the performance of a SA has been called "the strategy for the performance of a SA" (Fraser 1978).

To conclude the theoretical section of this paper, I want to point out that the incorporation of the two definitions into CA; one concerning the equivalence of SA across languages (Claim 3) and one concerning PEq (Claim 4) is believed to allow for a more systematic treatment of pragmatic phenomena across languages. Needless to say, more research is needed, both theoretical and empirical, into the nature of pragmatic aspects of language use.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the definition of equivalence stemming from the conceptual framework derived from the Universal Base Hypothesis does not lend itself easily to contrastive considerations pertaining to pragmatic phenomena. The adoption of the definition of equivalence based on semantico-grammatical criteria could result in incorrect statements concerning the implied homogeneity of the languages compared.

In the following section of this paper I will report on two experiments in which a limited number of requests in Polish has been evaluated as to their relative deference and levels of directness. The results of the two experiments will then be confronted with the results of the empirical studies reported on in Fraser (1978) and House and

Kasper (1981) concerning relative deference and levels of directness for requests in English.

I have to admit at the outset that I am aware of the methodological shortcomings of the procedure I have adopted, and I realize that the results of the experiments as regards requests in Polish as well as the conclusion one might draw from the comparison of these results with the ones reported in Fraser, and House and Kasper must be approached with great caution.

Experiment 1. In the first experiment I asked 40 native speakers of Polish, all of them students in the English Department and Polish Department, to rank eight Polish sentences in order of descending deference. The eight sentences were translation equivalents of the eight sentences used by Fraser in his study. Before the experiment, the Polish equivalents were independently verified as to their correctness and acceptability by the university teachers of English and specialists in Polish literature and linguistics.

The results of the experiment are shown in (4) and (5), respectively for English and Polish. Both English and Polish sentences, it should be remembered, are ranked in order of descending deference.

(4)

1. Could you do that	1. Czy mógłbyś to zrobić
2. Can you do that	2. Nie mógłbyś tego zrobić
3. Do that, could you	3. Czy możesz to zrobić
4. Do that can you	4. Zrób to, nie mógłbyś
5. Couldn't you do that	5. Zrób to, mógłbyś
6. Can't you do that	6. Nie możesz tego zrobić
7. Do that, couldn't you	7. Zrób to, możesz
8. Do that, can't you	8. Zrób to, nie możesz

The arrows going from the English sentences point to their translation equivalents in Polish.

The results of the experiment show that there is a match between the first, the sixth and the eighth positions in the ranking of English and Polish data. There three pairs consisting of a sentence in English and its translation equivalent in Polish exhibit both syntactic and pragmatic similarities. Syntactically, each member of the pair can be related to a deep-level source. In other words, the sentences in these pairs are related to the same semantic input and thus they are equivalent. This type of equivalence can be justified in a principled way by reference

to the theoretical model of CA proposed by Krzeszowski (1974/79). Additionally, the sentences in each pair can be said to be equivalent pragmatically if it is assumed that each of them has been used in the performance of the same SA in English and Polish and the relation of pragmatic equivalence has been established vis-à-vis the same pragmatic factor, which in the case under consideration was 'relative deference'. The latter type of relationship holding between each member of the pair was established on the basis of the definition of pragmatic equivalence proposed in Claim 4.

The greatest difference in the ranking occurs between the English sentence (4_5) "Couldn't you do that", which was ranked fifth by the native speakers of English who participated in Fraser's experiment, and the Polish sentence (5_2) "Nie mógłby§ tego zrobić", which was ranked second in my experiment, and between the English sentence (4_7) "Do that, couldn't you", which was ranked seventh, and the Polish sentence (5_4) "Zrób to, nie mógły§", which was ranked fourth.

Now, application of the definition of pragmatically equivalent expressions in Claim 4 to the eight sentences in English and Polish shows that sentence (4_2) in English is pragmatically equivalent to sentence (5_2) in Polish, where 'pragmatically equivalent' is defined relative to relative deference. This conclusion is based on the positions these sentences occupy in the ranking, which in turn is a reflection of the native speakers' assessment of the relative deference of these sentences as demonstrated in Fraser's and my experiments. However, it is important to point out that the sentences in this pair display considerable structural differences. The Englisn sentence is characterized by the following syntactic features: +Interrogative, -Negative, +Present Tense, while the Polish sentence is characterized by the following syntactic features: +Interrogative, +Negative, -Present Tense. Perhaps most importantly, the English sentence is a regular 'Yes-No Interrogative' *without a negative* element whereas the Polish sentence is an 'Intonation Question' *with a negative element*.

Experiment II. The second experiment involved a group of 44 students, all of them native speakers of Polish, who were asked to decide which of the eight expressions given in (6) they would use if they were to request someone to close the window.

(6) 1. Bardzo tu zimno. (It's very cold in here.)
2. Dlaczego okno jest otwarte? (Why is the window open?)
3. Czy możesz zamknać okno? (Can you close the window?)
4. Możesz zamknać okno. (You can close the window.)
5. Wolał/a/bym, żebyś zamknał okno. (I would prefer it if you closed the window.)
6. Powinieneś zamknać okno. (You should close the window.)
7. Proszę cię, żebyś zamknal okno. (I ask you to close the window.)
8. Zamknij okno! (Close the window!)

Situational context was provided and the role relationship of the interlocutor was varied along the parameter of authority. The students participating in the experiment were to decide which one of the eight expressions they would use in the following situational contexts:

(a) room in a dorm;
(b) classroom in which the student is acting as a teacher, eg., during a practicum;
(c) livingroom in their own family apartment;

The addressees were the following:

(d) colleague
(e) pupil
(f) parent

This experiment relies heavily on the output of the empirical research conducted by House and Kasper (1981). In particular, I have made use of the eight levels of directness that they distinguished for the speech act of request. In fact, the eight expressions in (6) are Polish translation equivalents of the English expressions with which House and Kasper illustrate the eight levels of directness in their paper. I have reduced level seven to just one possibility, namely that which they call 'explicit performative'. The comparison of the results of the second experiment with the results obtained by House and Kasper was based on the frequency counts as reflected in the use of a particular level of directness relative to three situational contexts and role relationships of the addressee as specified. Table 1 shows the distribution of the use of levels of directness in situational context (a).

The data for English in Table 1 is repeated after House and Kasper (1981). The discussion of the results will be limited to the two most

Table 1. The distribution of the use of the levels of directness in situational context (a).

directness level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Σ
REQUEST									
ENGLISH									
number of instances	6	3	18	6	3	2	1	5	44
POLISH									
number of instances	1	1	14	8	2	1	6	10	44

frequently used levels of directness for requests in Polish and English. As the table shows the most frequently used level of directness both in English and Polish is *Level 3*, exemplified by (7) and (8) below.

(7) Can you close the window?

(8) Czy mozesz zamknać okno?

The second most frequent levels of directness in English are *Level 4* and *Level 1* whereas in Polish it is *Level 8*. These levels, ie. *Level 4* in English and *Level 8* in Polish correspond to (9) and (10).

(9) You can close the window. Or *Level 1*: It's very cold in here.

(10) Zamknij okno!

In (9) the English expression is a declarative while in (10) the Polish expression is an imperative.

Now, if the discussion is focused on the linguistic expressions which realize a particular level of directness, rather than on levels of directness themselves, it is interesting to notice that the situation is very much the same as was the case with Experiment I. One and the same pragmatic feature can be linguistically realized by expressions which are also characterized by the relation of semantico-grammatical equivalence, eg.: (4_1) and (5_1) as regards relative deference and (7) and (8) as regards a level of directness. However, such examples as (4_2) and (5_2), on the one hand, and (9) and (10), on the other, point to a possibility wherein a pragmatic feature, eg. relative deference, can be linguistically realized by expressions which are not equivalent formally. This feature of pragmatically equivalent expressions across languages is expressed in Claim 5.

Claim 5. Pragmatically equivalent expressions across languages need not be equivalent formally.

In this context the notion of 'formal equivalence' means, more or less, semantico-grammatical equivalence.

In conclusion, it is worthwhile pointing out that the existing definitions of equivalence as worked out in the 'classical' Contrastive Analysis do not provide a satisfactory framework enabling one to deal with pragmatic phenomena from a contrastive viewpoint. Thus it will be claimed here that the incorporation of the notion of inter-lingually equivalent SA, and especially the incorporation of the notion of 'pragmatically equivalent' linguistic expression into CA is a necessity if contrastive pragmatics is to provide a conceptual framework within which pragmatic aspects of the use of linguistic expressions across languages could be studied. Needless to say, more empirical research on the use of linguistic expressions across languages in needed so that both the nature and mutual relationships holding between corresponding pragmatic factors across languages can be stated. What seems to be especially relevant from the point of view of foreign language pedagogy is empirical research bearing on the acquisition of pragmatic phenomena and 'pragmatic interference'. However, one must be aware of the delicate nature of the enterprise; pragmatic aspects of language use are connected with a system of cultural and social norms, on the one hand, and a network of idiosyncratic social-psychological features displayed by speakers across languages and cultures, on the other. Therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that the introduction of pragmatic aspects of language use into foreign language teaching be based on empirical research concerning the relationship between the perception of pragmatic phenomena in the native language and culture and the acquisition of these phenomena in the context of foreign/second language learning.

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GIVING AND GETTING DIRECTIONS: CROSS-LANGUAGE INTERACTION BETWEEN NATIVE AND FINNISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

There is a need for people to cross linguistic barriers. People speaking different native languages are brought together in face-to-face encounters in which they may want to, or find it necessary to, communicate with each other. The participants of such encounters can achieve remarkable communicative success despite great linguistic trouble (cf. Jordan and Fuller 1975); the manner and ways in which they manage to do that in different communicative settings stand in need of further examination.

In the present paper the focus of interest is in discovering how a transactional encounter is conducted in cross-language interaction between native and Finnish speakers of English. The communicative task subjected to analysis is that of giving and getting directions: a tourist, a native speaker of English, turns to Finnish passers-by asking them in English whether they could tell him how he could find the way to a desired destination.

For an average Finn, telling the way to a foreigner is one of the most characteristic situations in which he needs to speak a foreign language, most often English in his own society (*POPS-1976*, 3d). The first part of the paper is mainly concerned with interpersonal interaction that results from an unforeseen foreign language communication situation. For a foreign tourist, information about directions is an emerging communicative need through which he is likely to get involved in conversational exchanges with people with widely different communicative abilities in English. In the latter part of the paper particular attention is paid to those interactional features which make it possible for the participants to convey their communicative intentions despite impending language problems.

THE DATA

The material consists of two hundred surreptitiously tape-recorded brief encounters with requests for way-information. The research confederates (Duncan and Fiske 1977:26), ie. the persons presenting the requests, were six native speakers of English. During the data collection, the confederates were not familiar with the particular objective of the study; they were asked to behave as was natural of them when in need of way-information. The confederates were equipped with small a tape-recorder and a hidden microphone. They kept asking the way to places which anyone living in the town could be expected to know: post office, railway station, museums, and so forth. The people in the streets to whom the confederates spontaneously turned for help were men and women of different age groups.

The analysis of the verbatim transcriptions of the data is supplemented with indexical information obtained through naturalistic observation during the encounters. The observation was carried out either by an intraobserver (cf. Golopentia-Eretescu 1974:84) appearing together with the confederate or by an external observer nearby. A sample of seventeen tape-recorded way-description conversations in Finnish is included in the corpus as control material. Empirical evidence about the encounter type as interaction between native speakers of the same language also provides some insight into the nature of the transaction as such.

First, an instance of giving and getting directions may be defined as a *brief encounter* /cf. Poyatos 1976:87) because it has usually the characteristics of a short dyadic transaction in which the sole purpose of the interchange is the achievement of a transactional goal. Second, as a complex problem-solving task the enterprise may be divided into three sub-tasks: cognitive, interactional, and linguistic. However, the participants are familiar with the rules of the game. Having performed in the roles required for both the acts of Telling the Way and Asking for Directions the interactants - *director* and *questioner* respectively - have learned certain interactional strategies which serve as a general scheme for carring out the task at hand (Wunderlich and Reinelt 1982). Such mutual concern about the successful management of a task is described by Goffman (1963, in Argyle and Kendon 1972:19) as *as focused interaction*.

Third, at interpersonal level the course of the encounter is modified by determinants related to *social expectations*. The questioner is aware of his *right* to perform the request: his act cannot possibly be interpreted

as a great imposition towards the addressee because he is only asking for 'free goods', ie. minor services which people consider themselves entitled to demand from one another in public (Brown and Levison 1978:85). Likewise, the director interprets the way-enquiry as his personal involvement *obligation* rather than as an intrusion upon his privacy. Even when uncertain about the location of a given destination the director usually makes every effort to perform the task in some way instead of relinquishing it straightaway (cf. Wunderlich 1978:68).

A LANGUAGE CONFRONTATION

The basic determinants of a giving-and-getting-directions transaction remain unchanged in cross-language interaction. However, the use of a non-native language as a means of communication appears to have an impact on the entire outcome of the encounter. Figure 1 illustrates how the encounter is realized not only as a brief exchange of factual information but as a language confrontation in which the overriding role-relationship is that between a native and a non-native speaker.

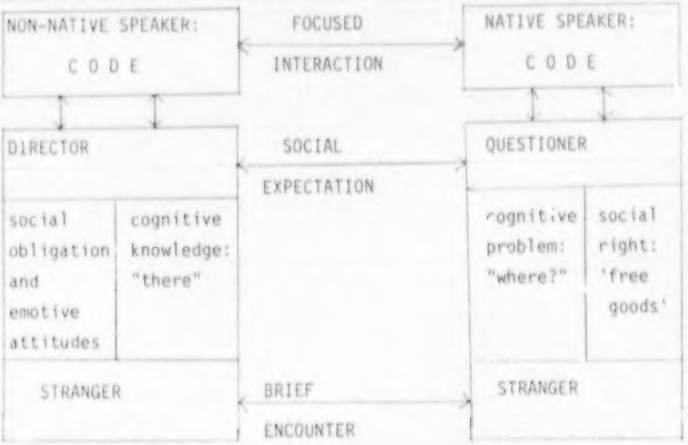

Figure 1. Participatory role-enactment in native - non-native speaker interaction in Giving and Getting Directions.

Various emotional and attitudinal aspects are attached to the encounter encounter at the interpersonal level. It follows that a large number of behavioural patterns observable during the interaction may be regarded as indexical of the socio-pscychological dimensions of using a non-native language in an unforeseen interchange.

In the materials gathered for the present study the outset of cross-language interaction is ofimportance. It is the native speaker having the role of a newcomer into a linguistic community. His opening enquiry *Excuse me, do you speak English?* appears unexpected and embarrassing to the people he addresses. In addition to suggesting the language code to be preferred in the ensuing encounter, the formulaic entry also signals 'I want something from you' (cf. Kiefer 1980:150). The non-native speaker's predisposition towards interaction is likely to be determined not only by his actual command of English but also by his willingness to engage himself in an unforeseen foreign language contact. Purely affective behaviours related to interpersonal attraction (cf. Triandis 1977) and a perception of the current situation, including stereotyped attitude potentials towards foreign language use and foreigners in general, for example, can be expected to determine how attuned a person is towards cross-linguistic interaction.

In the present data the persons addressed by the native speakers generally showed positive attitudes towards foreigners and were ready to help them. Their internalized knowledge of social expectations relevant in the context, often combined with what seemed to be a "natural curiosity about people from other lands" (Triandis 1977:3), encouraged the addressees to accept the role of a helper, often in spite of their poor or non-excisting command of English.

In more than every other test encounter the native speaker's initial enquiry *Excuse me, do you speak English?* was met with a response which could be labelled as positive, ie. conveying the addressee's readiness to communicate in a foreign language. A number of the positive responses were given as quick answers of the type *Yes, sure, Yeah,* and *Yes, I do.* The assertive responses indicated that the channel was open for cross-language communication and the native speaker could launch his actual request, the way-enquiry. Yet the most typical answer which was elicited by the native speaker's opening enquiry was an utterance containing some variant of the tentative formula *a little.* It may be understood as a secure stock response emphasizing the speaker's role as a language learner

not fully competent to use the language in question. For a native speaker, a *little*, when uttered hesitantly, tends to give raise to uncertainty about how to go on with the actual task. The native speaker realizes that to ensure mutual understanding he has to pay attention to his own choice of words and constructions:

(1) A: Excuse me, do you speak Eglish?
B: Uhm...a little... (laughter)
A: I am, I umm...want to go to the National Museum.

A tentative response can also lead to a brief negotiation about the language to be used in the ensuing interaction:

(2) A: Excuse me, do you speak English?
B: Very little.
A: But you speak a little bit?
B: Anything, but very little.
A: Can I, mmh, may I ask you a question?
B: Yes, but do you speak German?
A: No, I don't, i don't / / But it is a
B: Ohh...
A: small question, I / / I want to go to the National Museum.
B: Yes.
Jaaha, ye- yes, I understand. It is...

(3) A: Excuse me, do you speak English?
B: (laughter) Uhh, I don't speak English.
A: You speak some, I hear, some words...
umm, I am looking for the National Museum, wondering how to get to the National Museum...
You k- National Museum? No?
B: (laughs embarrased) ((...))
A: All right, thank you very much.

In example (3) interaction breaks down because the person approached clearly indicates that he does not consider himself capable of carrying out the suggested task in English. As a rule, the encounters do not develop into way-description exchanges if the addressee gives a negative response. Whenever there are other people around, the native speaker acknowledges the negative response and turns to other passers-by for help. The perceived urgency of the situation tends to increase the non-native speaker's personal responsibility to provide help: if there are no other peole nearby, it is more likely that the addressees try to be

helpful even if they do not know any English (cf. Triandis 1977:72); non-verbal and kinesic devices of communication are then the only means to promote mutual understanding:

(4) A: Excuse me, do you speak English?
B: ... (indicates a negative answer)
A: No...
B: Mitäs te oisitte...?
(What would you want to...?)
A: Uh... Kai-Kaivopuisto -
B: Kaivopuisto - eteenpäin vaan! (pointing)
(Kaivopuisto - straight ahead!)
A: This way? (pointing questioningly)
B: Joo, joo-joo.
(Yeah, yeah)
A: Thank you!

As a label, a negative response relates to answers by which the persons approached reject the role of a foreign-language speaker. Negative responses, often apologetic, are either verbal denials in Finnish or in English or non-verbal rejective behaviours such as shaking of the head and various facial expressions. A majority of the verbal denials are given in English, as plain *No* answers. This fact, together with the popular conception of a Finn as being inclined to remain uncommunicative in cross-language encounters (see Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1982), required further attention to be paid to the reliability of the numerous negative answers. To test the possibility that the addressees use the native speaker's formulaic opening question as an escape route to non-engagement, a number of encounters were initiated with an enquiry about factual information instead of language proficiency, for instance: *Excuse me, could you tell me where the post office is?*

The straightforward questioning technique increased the number of encounters in which the English question was answered in Finnish. Some of the mixed-language exchanges could perhaps be explained by the fact that the addressee was able to infer the place of destination from the English pronunciation and tries to provide some help (in examples (5) and (6) the questioner, too, is a non-native speaker):

(5) A: Excuse me, do you know where is here post office? Post office?
B: Posti? Tai -
(Post office? Or -)
A: Post, yeah. You know where is this... no?
B: Mä en ny mit-... mitä hän...?
(Now I don't-... what does he...?)
B: Postia...
(The post office...)
A: Joo, perhaps, I don't know what it is in Finnish - post office...
I want to send a letter... letter...
B: Tuollahan ne tietää kun meette tohon lennättimeen...
tohon... (points)
(Well, you'd better go into that Telex-office... over the[illegible]...
they'll know there...)

It is more problematic to analyse conversations in which the English pronunciation gives no indication of destination for a person who knows no English:

(6) A: Excuse me, can you, ehh, tell me where is here railway station...
train station?
B: Tuonne päin... (points)
(In that direction...)
A: Where?
B: Tch, ummh...

Later on in the same conversation the director indicates that she speaks some English but is not able, or willing, to make use of her knowledge:

A: Can you - tell me if it is near?
B: I can't...

This is an example of what might be termed a language conflict, a non-native speaker's unwillingness to use a foreign language in a face-to-face communication situation. Provided that the addressee comprehends what has been asked, the native speaker may reasonably assume that the person also speaks some English.

Exchanges of the following kind are embarrassing for the native speaker as well:

(7) A: Excuse me, could you tell me where there this... street is?
(showing an envelope with an address)
B: Aivan suoraan, eteen ja tonne päin (points)
(Straight ahead and into that direction)

A: !? (questioning laughter)
B: Mä en puhu englantia... tost suoraan ja tonnepäin
(pointing gestures)
(I don't speak English... straight ahead and then into that direction)
A: Mmh... [I go down this way // -
B: [Uh-huh
ja sit tonne noin, suoraan tästä -
(and then there, straight from here -)
A: How - when do I turn? How many streets?
B: Uhh... yks,kaks... kaks ja sitte tonne päin (points)
(Uhh... one, two... two and then there)

The research methodology adopted for the present study does not allow for definite conclusions to be drawn about the actual amount of communication apprehension in the test encounters. However, the data suggests that evasiveness may occasionally have been a strategy to which a non-native speaker prefers to resort under the threat of an unexpected foreign language confrontation. The non-native speaker may have acquired a risk capital in his attempt to reduce the anxiety of uncertainty (Montagna 1980:31) caused by his poor linguistic mastery. The reasons of avoidance behaviour may also be related to discouraging experiences from previous situations of the same nature, self-criticism as a threshold suppressing all attempts to participate in a conversation (cf. Saario 1980:73), situational anxiety, shyness, or simply, introverted personality (Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1982).

The data for the present study was collected in two different environments. This resulted in an environmental differentiation in foreign language use. In a large urban area, where people obviously are more used to foreign language contacts, the persons addressed by the native speakers of English appeared to be more attuned to cross-language communication than people in a smaller rural town, where foreign language contacts are less common. Other things being equal, the potential occurrence of foreign language contact may have had an impact on the non-native speaker's predisposition towards foreign language communication. A foreign language does not exist as a separate and isolated object for a non-native speaker. It relates to his "associations, attitudes, beliefs, concepts, evaluations, expectations, memories, opinions, percepts, role perceptions, stereotypes, and values" (Triandis 1977:4), among others.

The delicate nature of an unforeseen foreign language encounter is clearly displayed in the initial exchanges between the participants. When a relation of cross-language communication is established, the flow of interaction seems to tolerate a considerable amount of trouble. This is because the participants are bound together by 'goal-achievement' (Mathiot 1978:214), their willingness to accomplish the task at hand. See the following example.

HOW TO GET FROM HERE TO THERE

A: Ex- excuse me, do you speak a bit of English?
B: Yes.
A: I was wondering if you could tell me how I might be able to get to the National Museum - from here? (pause)
B: [Would you happen to know how... / Umm... mmh... uhmm...] I can do that?
(pause)
C: National [Museum...?
B: [Yes, I know where that is but...

Since he assumes the role of a director, the non-native speaker should be able to take the questioner to an imaginary wandering from the place of the encounter to the destination; the questioner on his part tries to construct a plan of the route described and then memorize its crucial parts (Wunderlich and Reinelt 1982:193). The participants find that they are faced not only with a complex cognitive problem-solving task but also with a linguistic problem of getting the intended meaning across. It can be expected that the director's more or less perfect mastery of the verbal code determines the outcome of the transaction. In the study reported here three referential labels were adopted to denote the perceivable different patterns of communicative interaction observable in the data. They are sense-making, trouble-managing, and facing distress.

1. Sense-making: collaborative interaction

In a number of encounters the manner of participatory interaction resembles corresponding focused interaction between native speakers of one and the same language. It is the non-native speaker who is

responsible for producing the way-description. The native speaker is in the role of a respondent, and for the most part his contribution to the conversation takes form of assertive backchannel behaviour - grunts, *yes's okay's* and head nods - and a few inquiries about the route:

(8) A: Excuse me // -
A: Do you speak a bit of English?
A: I was wondering if you could tell me how to get to a café that is... I think it is Kap-
Kap - peli... Kap// -
A: Yes.
A: Okay.
A: Okay, it is, is it rather close to the ((...))//
A: Okay.
A: Yeah-
A: Right.
A: Uhuh.
A: Okay.
A: Ahah! Okay-
A: Right.
A: And it's only a café, there is a... is there//-
A: Restaurant...
A: Okay... okay, I think I can probably fond it with that. Thanks very much!

In the above example the director wanted to produce a detailed way-description. His command of the verbal code allowed him to elaborate an adequate set of instructions in reference to landmarks along the route, for example. However, the perceived easiness and the relaxed manner of a way-description exchange do not result solely from the non-native speaker's language proficiency. Since it is likely that the director is always faced with problems of expression, it is his ability to cope with emerging trouble that is essential for the outcome of interaction as is evident from examples (9) and (10).

(9) B: It has, err, like a church... of a... what, torni...
(forms a steeple with her hands)
A: A steeple, a steeple
B: A// steeple... Yes.

B: Yes, like a... (forms a steeple)
A: A steeple! Uhuh.

(10) B: there's th-... not railway but...//
A: [tra , tram] Oh,
B: [((how)), to call it,] yes.

The non-native speaker admits that he is not certain how the intended meaning is to be expressed in the foreign language. But, at the same time, he also understands that the communicative setting of a direct face-to-face encounter makes it possible for him to appeal for the native speaker's assistance to ensure the continuation of interaction. Again, as a basic pattern of interaction, this strategy resembles casual conversations between native speakers of the same language, who, whether in search for a correct word or simply being at a loss in one's lines, do not hesitate to signal an appeal for help to their interlocutor: hence the usual expressions of the 'now whatchama call it' type in casual conversation. Interaction of this type can be described as collaborative as regards not only the manner but also the strategies employed in view of potential communication problems.

To recapitulate, an essential aspect of sense-making, ie. 'having a meaning which can be understood', is that the non-native speaker is willing to, and aware of how, to appeal for assistance when he is experiencing problems in his speech production. The strategy of making an appeal, which Fearch and Kasper (1980) call a non-native speaker's achievement strategy, is important also because the native speaker usually makes no attempt to try to correct the non-native speaker's errors. Instead, deviance is allowed to go 'unnoticed' occasionally at the cost of increased ambiguity.

2. Trouble-managing: supportive interaction

The great majority of giving-and-getting-directions encounters in the data show that communication between speakers of different languages is hazardous. The interlocutors are continuously faced with problems of expression and understanding.

To cover a large spatial area by means of a verbal route description is a demanding task even in the native language. The director's uncertainty in giving expression to concepts crucial in a way-description such as

lexical items for directions, deictic relations, and descriptive properties, is a threat to the success of interaction when reference can no longer be made to 'this street' and 'that great house'. However, deficiences of this kind seldom lead to communicative disaster. The knowledge of the language code being poorly shared makes the participants resort to remedial communicative strategies when they try to move mentally from one place to another; besides directive and mimicking gestures and facial expressions, a strategy frequently used is 'map-making', which often releases an embarrassing situation and takes the interaction a step further:

(11) B: And... you must go over the... uhh... tch...
it's two roads, what's - what's it... two roads
goes err... (starts drawing a 'map' on the snow)
A: The... you come to a dead end and the roads go like that?
B: Err- joo, joo, juu, juu, juu//
A: Okay...

All verbal exchanges of giving and getting directions are typically accompanied by a variety of extralinguistic and kinesic devices (Psathas and Kozloff 1976:113), but in cross-language encounters these elements tend to increase considerably. In addition to being used to emphasize and clarify the message, extralinguistic and kinesic devices may, in relation to the director's linguistic skills, be used to support or even to replace verbal communication.

The concrete transactional orientation of the interaction combined with the social norms governing participatory behaviour in the encounter strengthen the director's wish to make himself understood and the questioner's need to understand. The mutual attempt to overcome speech problems usually results in what Jordan and Fuller (1975) call "the non-fatal nature of trouble". The present data suggests that as long as deviance in the non-native speaker's communicative performance does not exceed the native listener's 'repair threshold' (Hackman 1977:144), the main threat to the success of interaction lies not so much in what is actually said, or in how it is said, as in what is left unsaid.

The director's insufficient mastery of the language restricts the descriptive informativeness of his route explanation. Uncertain in the use of the language, the director may leave unsaid much of what he would otherwise have wanted to include in his set of instructions:

(12) A: Excuse me, could you tell me how to get to the post office?
B: Umm,yes. First right
A: Uhuh.
B: and then... left... and - well, it's... there it is.

The non-native speaker's strategy of reducing the actual communicative goal to escape problems in verbal expression (Faerch and Kasper 1980) may become crucial for the accomplishment of the task if delivery of exact information and directive functions is required, as is the case in way-descriptions. In the present materials the existence of goal reduction strategies can only be inferred, since it is not known how the same informants' descriptions would have run in Finnish. Convincing evidence can, however, be obtained from the overall pattern of participatory interaction, which shows a notable change in the division of labour between the interlocutors, as in (13).

(13) A: Excuse me, could you tell me where the post office is?
A: Okay.
A: Okay, a park, yeah.
A: Okay... uhhm... could you tell me some names of... of a store or... something to give me, to tell me when to turn, is't...
A: I... I just go down this street and when I pass the park... then I? What do I do after I pass the park?
A: Uhum.
A: Uhuh.
A: Okay... is't a // -
A: Uhuh.
A: Okay - so I go to the right? I go, I go ((...)) this way...
A: Straight and then to the right, or? To the left...
A: But, okay, if we're right, if we're here, I go straight and here's the park, and then I go this way?

It is no longer the director who bears the major responsibility for the production of the way-description; he possesses the cognitive knowledge necessary for relating the expressions used in the speech encounter to the desired destination but he receives considerable help from the questioner in the formulation of the verbal route description. Since the questioner regards the instructions as insufficient, he tries

to elicit more exact information by presenting simplified questions, making guesses, giving reformulations, and suggesting alternative answers:

(14) A: Can i recog-... is it a modern building, is it a new building... the National Museum?

(15) A: Um, do you go to the left or to the right when you get to this... Man ernеimintie?

(16) A: Is it before you get to the university or is it after....?

The non-native speaker's tentativeness also makes the questioner resort to more encouraging backchannel expressions(often empathic such as *Right, Fine, There's a good idea*) or acknowledging repetitions and pragmatic expansions of the director's utterances. The native speaker shows that, in spite of trouble, the participants manage to communicate with each other:

(17) B: Yeah, and from the Esplanad you can ask... ask...
A: Ask again!

(18) B: Just follow this street// and
A: yes
B: then straight... straight...
A: Straight up?

(19) B: Yeah, it is open.
A: It is open.

In cases of trouble meaningful communication requires extra effort from both participants. Repair is however initiated by the native speaker in the first place. He has to come half way, or even further, to reach the level of the non-native speaker's communicative potential. Consequently, the participatory roles of the director and the questioner become obscure: the questioner has to change his role of a respondent to that of a supporter in order to keep the interaction moving on.

3. Facing distress: breakdown of interaction

The sense that the interlocutors lack a shared language code with which to handle the communicative task may grow out of the non-native speaker's tentative approximations to the target language as well as

his rejection of the role of a foreign language speaker. The common denominator of the situations recorded is that reaching the communicative goal by means of verbal interaction turns out to be beyond the limits of reasonable effort. Since the exchange of factual information is minimal or nonexistent, the participants' attempt at interaction can hardly be considered to have promoted the actual purpose of the encounter.

Although communication seems to be hampered by considerable disorders, instances of decaying interaction are not easily traceable. Such an observetion is in confirmity with the principles of Trouble-managing: as long as communicative success remains the mutually accepted goal of interaction there is a natural tendency for the participants to ignore, and even to deny, the existence of any communication troubles that cannot be repaired. Instead, the interlocutors appreciate even the slightest understanding achieved in a 'look-we-can-still-talk-together' atmosphere (Jordan and Fuller 1975:27), thus maintaining the sense of purpose of the exchange and their efforts:

(20) A: There? Yes, there? (pointing) And there, there...
B: tuu, tuu hundra... eiku tuu...
mmh, tota sitte... right
A: Right!
B: Right. (pointing)
A: Yes, there - and right.

As soon as moments of decaying talk grow in number within one sequence of conversation, interaction must be considered to be breaking down; the linguistic and communicative barriers between the participants make successful mutual repair work impossible. Communicative frustration is displayed at two levels (cf. Jordan and Fuller 1975).

The non-native speaker's frustration relates to his incapability of expressing the intended meaning or his non-comprehension. Frustration develops into distress rather than results in trouble-managing because the non-native speaker is unable both to appeal to his interlocutor for assistance and to derive support from the native speaker's cooperative contributions to manage the situation. See example (21).

(21) A: S-straight and then to the right, or? To the left...
B: (to her friend) Se on ihan suoraan, se on tän kadun varrella... miten mä sen sanon?
(It is straight ahead, it is on this street... but how can I say it?)

Frustration experienced by the native speaker is closely linked with his repair threshold. The repair device was shown to allow a certain amount of deviant signals in the non-native speaker's communicative performance without considerable danger for mutual interaction. Yet if the instances of deviance grow high in number, non-comprehension cannot be avoided. The non-native speaker's tentative language proficiency tends to reduce, rather than increase, the native speaker's supporting devices. The native speaker feels that his support does not get across. Interaction decays and becomes more restricted both linguistically and contentwise as in (22).

(22) A: Uh, excuse me, sir, do you speak English -
a tiny [bit?
B: [V-very little! (laughs in a loud voice)
A: Okay... could you, could you tell me how to get to this, uh, this uhh... is it Suomen- ... lin- linna?
B: Suomenlinnna...
A: Yes.
B: Jaa... this is (laughs), ehh, there, for... but uh.... uh, you can... uh... uhh...
mm.... [go to to ... with a boat.
A: [Is it -
C: (intraobserver) a boat...?
B: With uh a.... this, ehh, railway [(points to railway rails)
A: [Ahah, okay.
B: to uhmm... mmh... uh... [Kauppatori ((...))
A: [Ahah, is that,
is that the market place?
B: Market place, just!
A: Uhuh, yeah.
B: And there is the... umm... boat... [with a...
A. [Ahah!
B: ...the... ... you can drive Suomenlinna.

The director's tentative approximations to English are hardly sufficient to cope with the task. The attempts at a way-description remain at the level of a few scattered words that the questioner can combine with a sensible whole only with difficulty. When the interactional situation seems to be breaking down, the only thing that the

questioner can do is to relinquish the director tactfully from any further obligation. The directors themselves do not usually give up their tasks.

When a director cannot speak English, his wish to provide help in some way at least may make him try to use some other foreign language. If this does not result in action, the next step may be an offer to take the questioner to the desired place of destination or at least an offer to accompany him for a while as in examples (23) to (26).

(23) A: Excuse me, sir, do you speak English?
B: No, no - uh könnten Sie Deutsch sprechen?
A: Oh, no [I don't - do you speak a little [English?
B: [Uhh [I, nein, little.
A: Ah, I'm looking for the National Museum.
B: Jaaha, jaaha, [National Museum, [ahah.
A: [And [Yes, and I would like to go there.
B: Uh, have you... map?
A: No, I don't, but if you could point in the direction, I w- I would [be all right... Which [way do I walk?
B: [Joo [One, one moment please. (pause) Follow me, please! (starts walking)

(24) B: Please, komm, mit mir! (starts walking)

(25) B: Mää voin lähtee sinne kävelemään...
Nii, mää vien teidät sinne.
(I can come and walk with you there...
Yes, I'll take you there.)

(26) B: ... gå med! (approximations to Swedish)
(... come with me!)

Offers of this kind by the director can be regarded as a feature typical of cross-language encounters. The strategy is employed also by more fluent non-native speakers but it seldom occurs in encounters between native speakers of one and the same language. In the Finnish control material, offers to show the way are nonexistent.

CONCLUSION

The point of departure of the present study was that communicative tasks requiring focused interaction can be succesfully handled despite the existence of considerable language barriers. This is supported by the study of giving and getting directions in cross-language interaction between native and Finnish speakers of English.

For a non-native speaker, an unforeseen foreign language encounter is a delicate language confrontation. The non-native speaker's predisposition towards foreign language communication in general is relevant for the establishment of interaction. The tentative initial exchanges are indexical of the emotionally and attitudinally loaded relationship between the native and the non-native speaker.

However, the maintenance of interaction is secured by the concrete transactional purpose of the encounter. The participants have a strong wish to accomplish the task at hand. The non-native speaker's mastery of the langauge determines the development and outcome of the encounter, but it does not predict its success. Conversational support provided by the native speaker and various non-verbal devices of communication (paralinguistics, kinesics, etc.) are available for the non-native speaker as a compensation for his insufficient language skills.

Communicative effectiveness grows out of the participants' ability to adjust themselves to the existing conditions of communication both linguistic, transactional, and interpersonal. Therefore, instead of the non-native speaker's proficiency to communicate in a foreign language it seems more appropriate to refer to the participants' ability to interrelate their communicative performances in a manner which promotes the achievement of the interactional goal in the best possible way.

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APPENDIX

Participants:

A: Male 25 (American)

B: Male 45 (Finnish)

Setting: Helsinki, near Agricola Church.

Task: Asking for the National Theatre.

Observations: B embarrassed. Strategy: map-making, showing the way.

A: Excuse me, sir, do you speak a little bit of English?
B: Noo... very, very little.
A: Okay, could you tell me where I can find the National Theatre?
B: ((...)) nyt...
A: National - uh theatre, err, where they have plays -
uh | is it -
B: | what, what, what place? (obviously means *place*)
A: Uhm... is it, uh, I think it is... Kansallis-, Teatt-//
B: Kansallisteatteri?!
A: Yes, yes.
B: Aaahh... it is... uh, railway station...
A: Yes.
B: You, you know where is railway station?
A: Yes... yes.
B: Okay. Railway station and there is Kansallisteatteri...
('draws' a map)
A: Ahah... | Does- does the - is this the front of the
B: | Mmh
A: railway station here? (i.e. on the 'map')
B: Yes ((...)) railway.
A: This is the front?
B: On joo ((...)) this side.
A. Okay.
B: and there is Kansallisteatteri.

A: Do you - okay, do you know how far it is from here...
is it, is it a kilometre from here to there... one, two kilometres
or -
B: No, no...
A: Or is it [very close?
B: [One, one hundred meter, [two hundred meter...
A: [Ahh... ahh... ahah
B: Railway station...
A: Okay.
B: Mmh.
A: All right, thank you very much.
B: (indicates that A should follow him)
A: Ah, you go this way // thank you.
B: Joo.

A PRAGMATIC ACCOUNT OF PROPER NAMES IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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1. THE PROBLEM

The traditional distinction of common and proper names seems justified in natural language as accounting for the distinct functions of the two categories. There is a general agreement as to the origin of proper names historically traceable to common nouns (cf. Lyons 1977: 79).[1] In the course of language development, some common nouns have lost the distinctive features originally inherent to the object they named and the remaining phonic substance has been used, by convention, to refer to that object (cf. Zabrocki 1980). Hence, the sole function of proper names is reference but they are said to be devoid of meaning.

Although the validity of the common/proper dichotomy has generally been accepted, the ongoing disputes have left an air of uncertainty on the actual status of proper names. The present paper is an attempt to clarify the issue within the pragmatic framework. It is my contention that the rigid common/proper distinction, taken over from logic, suffers from serious inadequacies if applied to natural language. In his paper "On the sense and reference of proper names" McDowell (1980) noted that even such an important contribution to the theory of names as Kripke's "Naming and necessity" (1972) expresses a suspicion that any substantial theory of names - like any philosophical theory - is likely to be wrong (1960:162). Being aware of this fact, I hope, however, that the present paper suggesting an alternative approach to names might give some insight into the problem. As the argument develops, it will become clear that many doubts concerning the status of proper names have already been raised by other authors. Thus, Quine (1960) advocated reparting of names as general terms, Geach (1962:Ch. 2, 7) and Strawson

[1] According to Lyons (1977:222), many place names and family names originated as definite descriptions or titles, eg. *John* comes from a Hebrew name which could be interpreted as 'God has been gracious'. See also Grodziński (1973:Ch. 8).

(1974:67), on the contrary, were for names extended to include some general terms, and Lyons (1977:179) managed to accommodate these facts within the traditional division I am arguing against.[1] It will be demonstrated on the basis of contrastive English-Polish data that the labels ± PROPER] can be misleading since the actual behaviour of nouns often contradicts the characteristics they are ascribed due to their categorial membership. Consequently, it is my conjecture that the assignment of the features ± PROPER] can be contextually conditioned, thus belonging to the famous pragmatic wastebasket.

A glance at onomastic studies confirms the opinion on the complexity of the problem. Is it the case that proper names only refer but do not have any meaning, whereas common nouns do mean? The answers to this question gave rise to numerous theories in philosophy and linguistics, which delimited the pecularities of both nominal classes.

2. PROPER NAMES DESCRIBED

Let us now concentrate on the characteristics that proper names have been credited with so far. The mode of presentation will be as follows. The inventory of features will be divided into semantic and grammatical and each feature will be discussed under an appropriate label, on the one hand, as a result of relevant studies. On the other hand, the traditional view will be juxtaposed with counterexamples from English and Polish which will form the basis for further generalizations.

2.1. THE SEMANTIC FEATURES OF PROPER NAMES

2.1.1. THE REFERRING FUNCTION

Along with definite descriptions and pronouns, proper names have traditionally been recognized as referring expressions. Moreover, they were sometimes credited with unique reference (cf. Frege 1962; Russell 1905; Strawson 1959; the latter view was refuted by Donnellan (1972),

[1] As was noticed by Lyons (1977:179):

> The fact that the movement from one category to another may take place in the course of the historical development of a language suggests that the functional distinction between the three kinds of singular definite referring expressions, (ie. definite NP's, proper names, personal pronouns) is not absolutely clear-cut.

Cf. also Quine's (1960) reparsing of names as general terms and an opposite proposal of Strawson (1974:67) close to Geach (1962).

Kripke (1972), Lyons (1977), Zabrocki (1980), and others. The non-uniqueness of proper names is so obvious that it does not require further comment, such as Linsky's contention that proper names are usually (rather) common names (1967:118). However, note that being considered the paradigm examples for a referential theory of meaning, proper names do deviate from this norm. Lyons (1977:223) observed the tendency of many institutionalized place names to refer uniquely, as opposed to personal names which have many referents. For Strawson (1974:57) even the referring function of proper names disappears in certain contexts, eg. when they are self-quoting, in questions and in the case of introductions.

The fact that the secondary non-referential function of proper names should not be neglected is evident on the basis of the following examples:

1. A certain Mr. Smith has been looking for you.
1'. Pewien pan Smith szukał pana.

2. Is there a Mr. Taylor here?
2'. Czy jest tu jakiś pan Taylor?

3. This is Mary Brown.
3'. To jest Mary Brown.

Moreover, not only is the proper/common distinction blurred on contextual grounds, but even within the class of proper names no uniform behaviour can be observed. Thus, place names like *The White House/Biały Dom* or personal names of the type *John Kennedy jr.* are uniquely referring thanks to their semantic import, whereas others are not, eg. *Richmond; John/Jan.* Consequently, my hypothesis as to the contextual assignment of the feature I± PROPERI has gained some support.

2.1.2. THE MEANING OF PROPER NAMES

While the referring function of proper names has been fairly non-problematic, their meaning-carrying properties constitute the critical point of the discussion. Frege and Russell both believed that proper name is a definite description, abbreviated or disguised. The Strawsonian backing of descriptions was modified by Searle (1958) so that the referent of a name is determined by a family of descriptions. The most recent studies, having rejected the concept of meaning with proper names (Fodor 1977; Kempson 1977) and the principle of identifying descriptions (Donnellan 1972; Lyons 1977), have taken a more pragmatic

position. Thus, for Donnellan (1972:377) the name has no meaning but its referent must be historically or causally connected to the speech act. Lyons notes that a proper name identifies its referent by utilizing the unique and arbitrary association between the name and its bearer (1977:214), whereas according to McDowell the belief about the bearer of the name constitutes its sense (1980:150).

As I have shown elsewhere (Kryk, forthcoming) proper names do have sense if they are subject to what Zabrocki (1980) called secondary appellativization, ie. when they acquire specific associations traceable to the characteristics of their bearers. However, this is by no means a uniform process; some of the products of secondary appellativization retain the features of proper names, others become common nouns, and still another group forms a hybrid semi-proper class.

Consider the following examples:

4. Keeping up with the Joneses.

can be compared to Polish:

4'. Mieszkanie dla Kowalskich 'a flat for the Kowalskis'

where a popular family name stands for a typical Englishman and a Pole, respectively. Analogously, some Christian names have gained a wider meaning, so that they symbolize a sweetheart in English and any woman in Polish:

5. She is my new Valentine.
5'. Każda Ewa dostanie dziś prezent. 'each Eve will get[1] a present today'

These, what I call generalizations, are not however, instances of total secondary appellativization, since despite their meaning-carrying properties, they have retained some features of their original sources, eg. capital letters.

In the case of what I call detachment, proper names are associated with objects unrelated to their original bearers. In contrast to generalizations, this process is idiosyncratic of a given language; thus parallels are hard to find. Compare English *John Thomas, jerry* 'a night pot', *jack-in-the-box* 'a toy', *benny* 'benzedrine, a drug' with Polish *jasiek* 'beans, a small pillow, a day-flower', *baśka* 'a head',

[1] Note that 5'. is ambigious in Polish between two possible interpretations, ie. *Ewa* referring to any woman bearing this name or to any woman in general.

maciek 'belly'. Not only do these examples carry meanings completely detached from their bearers, but they have even lost capital letters characteristic of proper names only. Thus they may be treated as homonymous to their corresponding names or as separate words (the question has not been solved yet, cf. Grodziński 1973:112). Still, in this use they are considered to be legitimate common nouns.

Apart from these two extreme cases (secondary appellativization close to or detached from its original) there are a few borderline examples, more difficult to account for, thus confirming my conjecture about the shaky status of the common/proper division. A question arises as to the way of handling such English nouns as *mackintosh, wellingtons, sandwich, boycott,* and others historically traceable to their sources (which was not the case with the instances of detachment) but otherwise devoid of such proper name markers as capital letters, the inability to take plural, and other syntactic characteristics to be discussed below. Polish is poorer in such examples, but still it contains *jelcz, warszawa, poznaniak* (the makes of buses, cars, the names for inhabitants of cities).

Finally, the names of historical and fictitious characters can, according to Lyons (1977:219-220), symbolize some features of their bearers:

6. *a Judas* 'a traitor'; *a Napoleon* 'a great leader, tyrant'
6'. *Judasz, Napoleon*

7. *a Cinderella* 'a person or organization that is not valued as much as he/it should be'; *a don Juan* 'a man well known for his love affairs'
7'. *Kopciuszek, don Juan*

The examples are common to both languages, as they have sprung from the world's cultural heritage. However, here the situation with spelling is even more complex for some of these nouns have retained capital letters, but others have not, eg. English *cicerone*, Polish *kopciuszek*.

Some discrepancies in the use of capital letters can be noticed in the language analysed. English is richer than Polish in this respect, since it has grown capital letters with the names of months, days of the week, makes of cars, etc. which are all spelled as common nouns in Polish. Does it mean that English has more proper names than does Polish and how should contrastive studies handle it? Note that the spelling problem disappears in German where all nouns are capitalized. The questions doubtless beg a more detailed analysis but they hint at

an imperfection of common/proper distinction both on inter- and intra-linguistic level.

2.1.3. THE VOCATIVE FUNCTION OF PROPER NAMES

The vocative function ascribed to proper names boils down to their use to attract the attention of the person being summoned or called. But, as was noticed by Lyons (1977:217), also common nouns can be used to address individuals, cf.:

8. Come here, boy!
8'. Chodź tu, chłopcze!

Moreover, in certain contexts restricted by pragmatic and socio-linguistic factors (such as the degree of formality), the vocative function can be fulfilled by pronouns and even common nouns both in English and in Polish:[1]

9. *Hey you!* (*there*)
9'. *Hej, ty* (*wy*) (*tam*).

Thus the vocative function of names likewise renders the proper/common disctinction redundant in natural language use.

2.1.4. THE CONVENTIONAL CHARACTER OF PROPER NAMES

As the act of naming is governed by convention, in most cultures there is a set of institutionalized personal names which are conventionally assigned to either boys or girls. However, the rule can be broken either within the language itself (*Lezli* and *dżau* doing service in both categories) or externally, since *John* and 'male' are not semantically related in the way that *man* and 'male' are. If a girl happened to be called *John*, we would have to say *John cut herself*, which would be both grammatically and semantically acceptable (Lyons 1977:221; Thrane 1980:214).

Though Polish lacks such violations of the male/female distinction, it is full of female counterparts of male names, eg. *Władysław-a; Bronisław-a*. If their diminutives, like *Władzio/Władzia* and *Bronio/Bronia*, respectively are used vocatively the gender distinction disappears thanks

[1] In Polish there is another marker of the vocative use of a given noun, it simply occurs in the vocative case, having a distinct inflectional ending. This distinction disappears with pronouns whose vocative endings equal nominative ones.

to the vocative ending -u:

10. Władziu, gdzie jesteś?
10'. Władziu, where are you?

Here the disambiguating factors can be either the context or the past or future conjugation forms of the verb, which carry the gender distinctions. Consequently, the convention of naming may be broken in both languages analysed.

Besides, Lyons' claim (1977:216) concerning the contrast between the relations name/bearer, on the one hand, and common noun/its denotata, on the other, seems questionable, cf. his own example of ambiguity in:

11. What is this animal called?
11'. Jak się to zwierzę nazywa?

English and Polish allow in reply both a common noun standing for the name of the animal class or an individual name can be used. It was admitted by Lyons that although reference, denotation and naming need to be distinguished, they can coincide. According to him, *Fido* refers to a dog named 'Fido' and the noun *dog* has many different denotata ('Fido, Bingo,' etc.). But is it not the case that both sets are open classes of non-unique objects? The only difference is that the 'Fido' set would contain identical items ($Fido_1$, $Fido_2$, etc.), whereas the 'dog' set distinct ones. But even then we cannot exclude the possibility of assigning the name *Fido* to other objects. To take an example from Polish: the name *Baśka* (female proper name), though referring to a set of items identical formally ($Baśka_1$, $Baśka_2$), does not secure the conventional assignment of the name to the objects of the same class. Note that each occurrence of *Baśka* may refer to a distinct object: a human being, a squirrel, a goat and even a I-animate I noun, the latter only when secondary appellativization takes place.

The adherents of the common/proper distinction of nouns have to admit at this point that the conventional use of names constitutes a strong counterargument to their hypothesis. Firstly, the convention can always be subject to idiolectal changes and, secondly, it is a fact about language system as a whole that it is governed by the rules set up and modified by man himself. Thus Americans would be calling *subway* what the British call *tube*, and the human name *Fred* can be assigned to dogs. In Polish the name for 'mass media', ie. *środki masowego przekazu* was once changed into *publikatory* (though without success) and nothing may prevent a mother from addressing her kid *Puszek* 'feather down'

despite his having a regular proper name.

2.1.5. THE SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF PROPER NAMES

The semantic classification of proper names is the last point to be discussed in this section devoted to their semantic characteristics. On the basis of the object referred to, proper names can be divided into personal and place names, the former beign further split into feminine and masculine proper names. However, these distinctions may arbitrarily be violated not only, as was noted above, in the case of feminine/masculine distinction. Also, the main division is subject to ambiguity, so that:

12. I visited Sydney (York) last week.
12'. Odwiedziłam Sydney(a) (York)a) w zeszłym tygodniu.

may either refer to a city or to a personal name. This ambiguity is not relevant to Polish due to the distinct inflectional endings of nouns. It can be assumed, however, that if a girl were named, eg., *Warszawa*, so that the declensions coincided, the same ambiguity would arise. Naturally, with secondary appellativization cases (like *Sydney* referring to a hotel, restaurant, etc.) the ambiguity will still be greater. To conclude, even such an apparently obvious and well-delimited division as that of proper names may be subject to ambiguity requiring some pragmatic rules of context.

It follows from the discussion so far the the I± PROPERI division of nouns is of little explanatory value on semantic grounds. My contention is that analogous conclusions can be drawn from the English and Polish data pertaining to alleged grammatical peculiarities of proper names which will be tackeld in the following section.

2.2. THE GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPER NAMES

2.2.1. REDICATIVE POSITION

It is assumed that in contrast to common nouns proper names do not occur in a predicative position; cf. Russell (1905) and Geach's opinion to the effect that a proper name can occur in a proposition only as a logical subject (1962:31):

> if the same expression appears to be used now predicatively, now as a name, this is a misleading feature of our language.

So if a name occurs in such a position, it ceases to be a proper name, eg.

He is the Napoleon of finance. This view was shared by Lyons (1977:219), who noticed that the predicative position of proper nouns is possible only in appellative uses, ie. with the assignment of names to their bearers (*This is John*) or in propositions like *He is no Cicero*, ie. our secondary appellativization.

The same is true of Polish which also allows for a predicative position of proper names in these two cases:

13. To jest Barbara. 'This is Barbara'
14. Jestem Barbara. 'I am Barbara'
15. Bydgoszcz jest Wenecją północy. 'Bydgoszcz is the Venice of the north
16. Marek jest Judasz(em). 'Mark is a Judas'

Compare these examples with analogous constructions employing common nouns:

13'. To jest stół. 'This is a table'[1]
14'. Bydgoszcz jest miastem średniej wielkości.
15'. Marek jest lekarzem.

Consequently, the distribution of nouns in predicative position is not a plausible argument in favour of the I± PROPERI division.

2.2.2. ARTICLES

Proper names do not normally take articles (Lyons 1977:225) but there are, again, numerous exceptions to this rule:

(a) Some geographical proper names require the definite article (names of rivers, mountains, etc.), whereas others do not take it (names of cities, countries, etc.). Nevertheless, we have such names as *The Hague*, *The Soviet Union*, and the like.

(b) Both with personal proper names and those place names which are not preceded by articles, the rule is violated in relative clauses. Despite the claim of Tabakowska (1979) that proper names can function as head NP's of restrictives

[1] Polish nouns in predicative position normally take instrumental, as in 15'. However, sometimes a nominative ending is also possible which differs from vocative in its semantic import: *Janek jest kierownik/ Janek jest kierownikiem*. While the latter example with a noun in instrumental answers the question: *What is John's job? John is a manager*, the former sentence employing a noun in nominative indicates some inherent feature of John as a proper person to be a manager.

thus losing their property of establishing unique designation, it has already been shown that they never really refer uniquely. Thus their occurrence with articles cannot deprive them of a non-existent characteristic. Consider the following examples:

16. They arrested the Gierek who is responsible for the Polish crisis.
16'. Aresztowali tego Gierka, który jest odpowiedzialny za polski kryzys.

17. I have met a Kennedy who had no relation whatsoever to the famous Kennedy family.
17'. Poznalam pewnego (jednego, takiego?) Kennedy'ego, który nie miał żadnych powiązań ze słynną rodziną Kennedy'ch.

On the basis of the English examples and their Polish equivalents employing demonstratives and indefinite pronouns instead, it is evident that the present criterion is irrelevant to the I± PROPERI distinction. The distribution of articles in English and of corresponding devices in Polish is governed by the contexts as is the case with common nouns. Finally, the process is not restricted to relative clauses only. We cannot exclude as unacceptable sentences like:

18. Could you introduce me to a John because this is my favourite name.
18'. Czy mogłabyś przedstawić mnie jakiemuś Jankowi, bo jest to moje ulubione imię.

19. Mary went to a Richmond yesterday; I have no idea which Richmond it is.
19'. Maria pojechała wczoraj do jakiegoś Richmond: nie mam pojęcia do którego.[1]

2.2.3. PLURAL

If proper nouns were taken to be uniquely referring, then their occurrence in plural would automatically be ruled out. Such a view would entail problems with a bundle of perfectly acceptable sentences like:

[1] Compare also a Polish example of this kind:

Maria pojechała wczoraj do Makowa, nie wiem tylko: do Podhalańskiego czy Mazowieckiego.

where the names of the towns are qualified with adjectives denoting corresponding regions of Poland.

20. How many Johns have you invited for tonight?
20'. Ilu Janków zaprosiłaś na dziś wieczór?

Therefore, the present criterion has been refuted as spurious for the I‡ PROPERI distinction in natural language. Hockett (1958:311) noticed that uniquely referring proper names of logic do not exist in natural language, that is why they are, along with common nouns, subject to pluralization (which he calls deproperization. Cf. also Lyons' comment on the status of the noun *the sun* (1977:285).

Indeed, note that both in English and Polish not only personal but also place names can be pluralized:

21. Have you seen both Berlins, or is it only East Berlin that you have visited?

22. Czy widziałaś oba Berliny, czy odwiedziłaś tylko Berlin Wschodni?

Consequently, the question of plurality with proper names is no longer relevant to our discussion.

2.3. RESIDUAL PROBLEMS

Two more issues deserve attention at this point; one being of a general nature, ie. the status of proper names in the language system, and the other related to pragmatics, ie. the politeness factor.

2.3.1. THE LINGUISTIC STATUS OF PROPER NAMES

It has often been queried if proper names are words of language. Geach (1962:26) gives a positive answer to this question since, as he claims:

> It is part of the job of a lexicographer to tell us that "Warsaw" is the English word for "Warszawa"; and a grammarian would say that "Warszawa" is a Polish word - a feminine noun declined like "mowa". And what is wrong with this way of speaking?

On the other hand, Lyons (1977:222-3) contends that the problem is far more complex, so that some human proper names and the most common place names would be subject to translation, whereas others would not. Also the name used would often express our personal and even political sympathies, eg. *Gdańsk* vs. *Danzig*.

The issue could easily be a topic of another longish paper. Suffice it to say, that in most English-Polish bilingual dictionaries, eg. *The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary*, names like *Washington*, *Xavier*, etc.

are given their Polish equivalents, ie. *Waszyngton, Ksawery*, respectively. The monolingual English dictionaries of an encyclopedic type, eg. *Webster's New World Dictionary* have separate entries for human names and place names, whereas others supply an index of names at the end (*The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*).

The present problem does not constitute a counterargument to our claim that the I± PROPERI distinction should be assigned on pragmatic grounds. On the contrary:

(a) Whether we treat the so-called proper names as words of language or not, they do occur in some form in dictionaries and are often translated into the other language in the same way common nouns are, eg. *New Orleans/Nowy Orlean*.

(b) The choice of either the original form or its equivalent in the speaker's native language is often governed by his personal preference (*Warsaw* vs. *Warszawa* in English), by the adequacy of the information conveyed (*Uncle Tom's Cabin* is rendered into Polish as *Chata wuja Toma*, since *Tomasza*, ie. the Polish equivalent of the name would not imply what the nationality of the uncle is) or by the knowledge of a given language (*Arkansas* is pronounced by non-English speaking Poles according to their native phonological rules). Finally, the name used can also be an indication of snobbery (Poles saying "Köln" or "Washington" rather than "Kolonia" and "Waszyngton").

(c) The process is analogous with borrowings of common nouns; they are normally adapted to the phonological system of the borrowing language but the original form may be retained, so that two parallel forms are used, eg. *computer* in Polish allows for two pronunciations with the diphthong preserved or changed into a vowel.

Consequently, proper names should be analysed as legitimate words of a language since they share numerous characteristics with common nouns.

2.3.2. THE PRAGMATICS OF PROPER NAMES

For obvious reasons, proper names cannot be used anaphorically but, as was observed by Thrane (1980:223), even in non-anaphoric function *John* and *he* are not in free variation as referring expressions. There is a politeness factor that separates these two categories and this is due to deixis (we do not say *he* or *she* about the persons who are present). This is indeed the case in both languages analysed. We would tell our hearer:

23. John is doing well at the university.
23'. Jan dobrze sobie radzi na uniwersytecie.

if John were close to the deictic center, ie. in our company. In such contexts also some conventionally accepted common nouns are possible, eg. English *gentleman, young man*; Polish *pan, młody człowiek*. Otherwise, ie. in John's absence, *he/on* can be used respectively. Note that in Polish the Politeness Principle (cf. also Geach's formulation) may be violated on the grounds of social hierarchy. A master would not only refer to his servant by means of personal pronouns *on/ona* ('*he/she*'), but he would employ these as forms of direct address:

24. Co ona ugotowała dziś na obiad?
24'. What has she cooked for dinner today?

can be uttered both in the maid's presence and absence. The forms being archaic nowadays, they are sometimes used jokingly.

The present remarks have shown that the distribution of alleged proper names can be accounted for only within the pragmatic framework, the key terms being context, deictic center of the utterance, the Politeness Principle and even such sociolinguistic factors as the degree of formality.

3. A TENTATIVE SOLUTION

The present paper has been an attempt to challenge the traditional claim that, apart from a small number of borderline cases, the division into proper names and common nouns is readily drawn (Lyons 1977:219). The contrastive data from English and Polish have demonstrated that the I± PROPERI distinction finds little support in the functioning of natural language. The semantic, grammatical and formal criteria delimiting the alleged category of names in most cases fail to make this distinction absolutely clear-cut. As a result, the features ascribed to proper names are no longer idiosyncratic of this category which can, in many contexts, be assimilated by the category of common nouns.

Consequently, my contention is that the feature I± PROPERI be assigned to nouns with respect to relevant pragmatic and sociolinguistic information. Thus the final decision of the speaker should be conditioned by context, deixis, and certain conversational principles, on the one hand, and on the other, he should observe the conventions and sociolinguistic rules operating in his native language. Finally, certain choices might be due to the speaker's idiolect so that he will be able

to disambiguate such utterances as:

25. My John is awful.

26. Baśka pracuje.
26'. Barbara/the brain is working.

The formal apparatus to be employed is not quite clear at this point as is the case with other problems pertaining to the field of pragmatics. The assignment of the feature ± PROPERI could be formalized as an isomorphism linking a given lexical entry with a corresponding set of contextual, sociolinguistic, and other relevant facts. Thus in some circumstances *John* would stand for a human male, in an other situation it would refer to a loo.

In conclusion, the rejection of the rigid common/proper distinction in natural language in favour of a pragmatic approach would allow for a more flexible treatment of the N category without any rule violation or borderline cases. It is evident that much more is still to be done in the field of onomastics full of problems that the present paper has merely touched upon. If this tentative proposal is going to stimulate further research in the domain of cross-language onomastic studies, then it has served its purpose.

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A FUNCTIONAL MODEL FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF MODALITY IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Modality is one of the problem areas in foreign language teaching: it is a very complex and illunderstood phenomenon, and a contrastive study of modality increases the awareness of this complexity, especially when three rather than two languages are involved. This paper is a partial report of ongoing research at the university of Ghent, where the authors are working on a contrastive description of English and French as opposed to Dutch, the students' native language.

It is possible to find general and rather vague definitions of modality, like "the attitudinal relationship between the language user and what he says" (Dekeyser et al. 1979:84) or "the speaker's view of the potential involved in the predication" (Marino 1973:312). Such definitions can give a general idea of what is meant by modality, but they do not allow us to set clear limits on the phenomena that we want to study: they would involve an open-ended list of expressions of modality, including 'of course', 'I believe', 'It is conceivable', etc.

A purely formal approach would also be unsatisfactory, since surface structures expressing modality can be so different from one language to another that it becomes impossible to identify them with one another: we have no basis for our comparison. In English, for example, it is possible to define the modal auxiliaries formally, but not in French. In French a mood like the subjunctive plays an important part in the speaker's view of the potential involved in the predication (especially in subordinate clauses), but the subjunctive mood has virtually disappeared from English and Dutch. We clearly need a semantic or functional *tertium comparationis* to be able to compare such phenomena, but first of all it is necessary to set limits for ourselves.

1.2. As a starting point, we shall consider modality as expressed by the modal auxliaries in English, since these can be defined formally and

described semantically. The English system can be applied to Dutch and French, where modal verbs[1] cannot be formally defined. Support for this procedure can be found in the fact that the non-constrastive French grammarian Pottier has a semantic classification of modalities in French which is similar to the one outlined in this paper, and which has the same limits. Pottier defines modality as "une formulation du JE" (ie. the expression of subjunctivity in the linguistic message), and he uses the concepts [devoir], [pouvoir], [savoir], [vouloir] (Pottier 1976: 39).

Taking the English modals as a starting point implies that a number of phenomena have been excluded from the discussion of modality. These items are recognized as having to do with subjectivity in the linguistic message, but they are not describable as modalities in the limited sense used in this paper. For instance, the subjunctive mood, which is productive only in French, always indicates unreality of some sort in the three languages, but it is not possible to find a place for it in the framework outlined in this paper. On the other hand, the imperative mood is clearly a way of expressing obligation, and does fit into the scheme. Other types of unreality which do not fit into the framework are illustrated by *would* and *should* in the following examples:

(1) I don't think it would be helpful.
que ce soit utile. (Subjunctive)
dat het nuttig zou zijn.

(2) I am glad that he sould think so. ('Putative' *should*)
qu'il pense ainsi. (Subjunctive)
dat hij er zo over denkt.

(3) If this machine should fail to give satisfaction, we guarantee to refund the purchase money.
Au cas où cette machine ne donnerait pas satisfaction...
Indien deze machine geen voldoenisg zou schenken...

Conditionals, too, are considered as modal in a wider sense only, and the same applies to futurity. The controversy as to whether English future should be considered as a modality or not can only be mentioned here.[2] It is clear that there are many cases involving indeterminacy,

[1]The term 'modal verb' will be used here for any verb that expresses modality: it applies to full verbs as well as to auxiliaries.

[2]For a discussion see eg. Palmer 1974:36-37, and Palmer 1979:111ff..

where a modal element (in the narrow sense) is present. But the 'pure future' will be considered as modal in a wider sense only, or as 'non-modal', for short. In a pedagogocal grammar it might be better to discuss the future in a chapter on time and tense, which would be dealt with before modality. Such a chapter would also include cases like

(4) Worse was to follow.
Et pire encore devait s'ensuivre.
Er zouden nog ergere dingen volgen.

where pure future in the past is indicated, and also

(5) The Prime Minister is to make a speech tomorrow.
Le Premier Ministre doit prononcer un discours demain.
De Premier zal morgen een redevoering houden.

to refer to planned future events. English *be to* and French *devoir* are used in a 'non-modal' sense here.

1.3. Before discussing the semantic framework, a brief look at the formal characteristics that are used to define the English modal auxiliaries is necessary. The 'NICE properties'[1] place the modals in the same category as the 'primary' auxliaries *be*, *have* and *do*. They involve negation, inversion, 'code', and emphatic affirmation. Other verbs require *do* in these cases, but auxiliaries are used alone. A typical characteristic of English modal auxiliaries is their defectiviness: they have no *-s* forms and no non-finite forms. In Dutch and French, on the other hand, it can be posited that the modal verbs have a full inflectional system, though there are some anomalies with Dutch *kunnen*, *mogen*, *zullen* and *willen*, where the third person singular does not have the usual *-t* ending, but is the same as the first person singular: *hij kan*, *mag*, *zal*, *wil*.[2] Like English modals, Dutch and French modal verbs do not normally occur in the imperative mood, though it is possible to find occurrences of subject-oriented modality[3] in the imperative in French:

[1] For a discussion cf. Palmer 1974:18ff. The term was introduced by Huddleston (1976).

[2] Note also the change in the stem vowel with *kunnen*, *mogen* and *zullen*.

[3] For a definition of this term see section 2.1.

(6) Sachez faire la cuisine grâce à ce nouveau livre.

(7) Veuillez vous asseoir. (Cf. Please be seated.)

Morphologically, however, these instances are connected with the subjunctive rather than the imperative.

The defectiviness of the English modals is relevant from a contrastive point of view: the absence of non-finite forms entails that a verb phrase can contain only one modal at a time, whereas in Dutch and French several modal verbs can co-occur:

(8)*You must can speak English fluently.

Je moet vlot Engels kunnen spreken.

Tu dois pouvoir parler l'anglais couramment.

English needs paraphrases to express modalities in a non-finite form, eg.:

(9) You must be able to speak English fluently.

1.4. There are further grammatical points which a contrastive grammar should deal with, but they fall outside the scope of this paper. One such item would be the fact that Dutch can use modal verbs independently, as in: *Dat kan. Mag dat? Moet dat echt?* etc.[1] Both English and French need paraphrases in such cases[2]:

It's possible	C'est possible.
Is that allowed?	Est-ce permis?
Is that really necessary?	Est-ce bien nécessaire?

Another problem is the use of the perfect infinitive after English modals. With epistemic modalities this indicates that the modality refers to a past event. With root modalities, in so far as it is possible, it implies counterfactualness, ie. that the action did not take place (or with negatives, that it did). In French and Dutch, the difference can sometimes be reflected formally, eg.:

[1]Several examples can be found in this paper: (5) in 4.1., (4) in 4.2., (5) in 5.1., and (1) in 5.2.

[2]French does allow independent use of the modal verbs, but to a lesser degree than Dutch, eg. *Il le faut, je n'y peux rien*, and the impersonal reflexive in *Comme il se doit*; also the reflexive with epistemic meaning in *Cela se peut*.

Epistemic:

He might have been in his room.
Hij zou in zijn kamer kunnen geweest zijn.
Il se peut qu'il ait été dans sa chambre.
(Il peut avoir été dans sa chambre.) (Uncommon)

Root:

He might have been in his room!
Hij had tenminste in zijn kamer kunnen zijn!
Il aurait pu etre dans sa chambre!

More research into this problem is needed however.

2. PALMER'S MODEL

2.1. The main source of inspiration for the descriptive framework of modality that will be discussed below has been Palmer's model (Palmer 1979), which is essentially semantic and logical,[1] though it also takes the formal characteristics of the modals into account. Palmer's model is represented in tabular form; in table 1.

On the vertical axis, epistemic modality is the modality of propositions rather than events: it makes judgement about the possibility, certainty, etc., that something is or is not the case (Palmer 1979:41). Deontic modality is illustrated by *may* for permission and *must* for obligation: with deontic modality, one of the participants in the discourse (the speaker or the addressee) will be the source of the modality. An alternative term for 'deontic' would therefore be 'discourse-oriented'. The third kind is dynamic modality, which can be either subject-oriented (when the grammatical subject of the sentence is the source of the modality, as with *can* for ability and *will* for volition), or it can be neutral: the modality is then either subject-oriented or discourse-oriented. This is exemplified by *must* in the sense of 'necessary for' and *can* in the sense of 'possible for'. Palmer notes that it could be argued that *have (got) to* represents a third subtype of dynamic modality, which we might call 'circumstantial' (Palmer 1979:37). This argument will be followed up below.

[1] It is inspired by the logical categories discussed by von Wright (1951).

Table 1. Representation of modality by Palmer (1979).

	DYNAMIC		DEONTIC (DISCOURSE ORIENTED)	EPISTEMIC MODALITIES
	SUBJECT ORIENTED	NEUTRAL		
NECESSITY		MUST (obligation) HAVE TO	MUST (obligation)	MUST (certainly)
POSSIBILITY	CAN (ability)	CAN (theoretical possibility)	MAY (permission)	MAY (factual possibility)
SHALL/WILL	WILL (volition)		SHALL (undertaking)	WILL (strong possibility)

2.2. Apart from its pioneering semantic classification, Palmer's framework has other advantages: the close ralationship between ability and theorecal possibility is well illustrated by their nearness in the diagram, and the link between futurity and the modalities using *shall/will* is also clear. The *shall/will* future would in fact neatly fill the empty slot as a neutral modality, though Palmer does not do this explicitly. There is some justification for considering the English future as a modality (*shall/will* are formally modal auxiliaries, and they are rarely used for 'pure future'),

but it is not confirmed by contrastive evidence: the French 'futur simple' is formally a tense, and the formal basis for considering Dutch *zullen* as a modal auxiliary is also rather shaky.[1] For pedagogical purposes it would seem better to consider futurity as a time-sense category. This does not mean that it is impossible to acknowledge the fact that it is modal in a wider sense: any reference made to the future is by nature speculative, and other semantic characteristics than pure futurity are often involved.

Table 1 contains an empty slot for subject-oriented necessity. This awkward feature could be avoided by putting the *will* of volition here. Epistemic *will* also indicates necessity, and so does deontic *shall* (as in *You shall do as I tell you*) or deontic *will* (as in *Private Jones will report at 08.00.*). All the instances involving *shall/will* could therefore be considered as necessity.

Another drawback of Palmer's system is that he has some difficulty in classifying forms for obligation like *should/ought to, need*, etc. as against *must* and *have to*: are they deontic or dynamic?

Palmer rightly mentions ambiguous and indeterminate cases. An investigation of his examples shows that a large number of them are in fact indeterminate, either between different modalities or between a modality *strictu sensu* and modality broadly speaking. A descriptive framework should be able to account better for this indeterminacy. It is in connection with this problem that Palmer feels the need to devote separate sections to 'Rules and Regulations', 'Rational Modality', 'Existential Modality'. These categories however are difficult to integrate into the rest of his framework, which is semantic and logical. 'Rules and Regulations' is clearly a pragmatically based category.

3. A FUNCTIONAL MODEL OF MODALITY IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

3.1. In this section, an outline will be given of the framework that was developed by starting from Palmer's model and by taking into account the criticism that could be levelled against it. Futurity, unreality and conditionals are excluded from this model. They are mentioned only if

[1] Cf. section 1.3. of this paper.

they co-occur with the modalities in the strict sense. In their own right they cannot be described in terms of possibility or necessity. The model is represented in tabular form in table 2.

Table 2. Revised representation of modality.

		ROOT			EPISTEMIC
	SUBJECT ORIENTED	DISCOURSE ORIENTED			
		INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	NEUTRAL	
NECESSITY	WILL (inclination)	MUST (obligation imposed)	HAVE TO (obligation stated)	SHOULD NEED NOT (obligation)	MUST (certainty) WILL (relative certainty)
POSSIBILITY	CAN (ability)	MAY (permission)	CAN (theoretical possibility)	CAN (possibility)	MAY (factual possibility)

As can be seen, Palmer's 'third degree' has been dispensed with. Modal *will* finds a place with necessity: mainly subject-oriented necessity (the *will* of inclination. which covers volition and habit) or epistemic necessity (*will* indicating relative certainly). The distinction root vs. epistemic modality is made by most linguists nowadays.[1] Epistemic modality has already been defined as the modality of propositions. Root modality would then indicate the possibility or necessity of events.

[1]Palmer, for example, distinguishes between epistemic and non-epistemic (Palmer 1974:38), and Halliday's distinction modality vs. modulation covers the same concepts (Halliday 1970).

Within root modality the distinction subject-oriented vs. discourse-oriented is also made by Palmer, but here it is more basic, and discourse-oriented modality has a wider meaning: it includes not only cases where the source of the modality is the speaker or the addressee (internal), but also those where the necessity or possibility is determined by circumstances or a 'third party' (external), as well as those where the source of the modality is simply indeterminate (neutral).[1] This is only one of several kinds of indeterminacy. Modal verbs are typically polysemous, ie. they have a potential for various related meanings. It follows that there may be combinations of various modalities in one single modal verb. Which modality will dominate the other, or perhaps completely eliminate it, will often depend on the context and the situation, ie. pragmatic factors. Leech and Coates (1980:81) distinguish between three types of indeterminacy: gradience (where the meaning of a modal cannot be clearly assigned to one of two categories), ambiguity (where the possible meanings are in an either-or relationship) and merger (where the meanings are in a both-and relationship: they are mutually compatible in a reading of the passage). The second type would be more common in French, which has fewer modal verbs available to express the same number of modalities. But there is no space to pursue this matter here, and we shall use the term indeterminacy in a general way to cover all types of indeterminacy in context. That implies that most of the examples of indeterminacy will illustrate gradience or merger.

3.2. If indeterminacy is integrated into the framework, the block diagram will take the form in table 3. As far as necessity is concerned, 'Indeterminacy with 'non-modal'' usually means indeterminacy with futurity, whereas with possibility this is not so, since no forms that can express futurity are used in any of the three languages.

3.3. The term 'pragmatics' has already been mentioned above. It would be attractive if it were possible to draw a neat distinction between the semantics and the pragmatics of modality, if it were possible to see a

[1] Originally only internal and external discourse-oriented modality were considered, but it became clear that there were too many indeterminate cases, and that a category of neutral discourse-oriented modality would have to be introduced.

Table 3. Representation of modality integrating indeterminacy.

	ROOT MODALITIES							EPISTEMIC MODALITIES		
	SUBJECT ORIENTED	INDETERMINACY WITH DISCOURSE ORIENTED	INDETER. WITH NON-MODAL	DISCOURSE ORIENTED			INDETER. WITH NON-MODAL		INDETERM. WITH ROOT MOD.	INDETERM. WITH NON-MOD:
				INTERN.	EXTERN.	NEUTR.				
NECESSITY	WILL	CAN'T HELP MUST	WILL SHALL	MUST	HAVE TO	SHOULD NEED	SHALL WILL SHOULD	MUST WILL	SHOULD	WILL
POSSIBILITY	CAN	CAN		MAY	CAN	CAN	MAY	MAY	COULD CAN'T	

'central', 'semantic' way of expressing each modality, with in addition a number of other means which would be pragmatic (eg. extended usage of modal verbs which are normally used to express other modalities). But it is extremely difficult to find consistent criteria to distinguish whether the means used to express a particular modality os semantic or pragmatic. This is corroborated by findings of such theorists as Parret (1976) or Allwood (1981), who argue that the distinction between semantics and pragmatics is more of a hindrance than an aid to clarity in the study of meaning in natural languages. They both favour "...a semantico-pragmatic approach where linguistic meaning has as its primary factor contextual adaptability, which would make such things as vagueness, metaphor and contextual determination of meaning central concerns..." (Allwood 1981:188-189). These remarks apply to the cases of indeterminate modality that we have touched on: eg., the meaning of *will* in *I will write as soon as I get there* could be considered either as volition with a pragmatic implication of futurity, or as futurity with a pragmatic implication of volition. In this paper, however, it will simply be regarded as indeterminate between future and volition. We can say then that we limit ourselves to the semantic notions we have defined, and that we state that these can have different values according to the context and situation in which they occur. The terms 'central' and 'additional', with regard to ways of expressing a modality, refer simply to frequency of occurence, not to the opposition semantics vs. pragmatics.

For reasons of space, the diagrams in this section have been exemplified with English modal auxiliaries only, but the same categories apply to the two other languages. Even the instances of indeterminacy are usually the same.

In what follows, a survey of the different kinds and degrees of modality will be illustrated with examples[1] in the three languages.

[1]Most of the examples have been taken or adapted from Palmer (1979). The Dutch and French translations have been checked by native speakers.

4. NECESSITY

4.1. Subject oriented necessity

Examples:

(1) I asked him, but he would't come.
Ik vroeg het hem, maar hij wou niet komen.
Je le lui ai dêmandé, mais il n'a pas voulu venir.

(2) If you will play it this way.
Als je het êcht wil doen.
Si tu veux vraiment le faire ainsi.

(3) He would always talk.
Hij had gewoonte steeds maar te praten/Hij praatte steeds maar.
Il parlait tout le temps.

(4) Oil will float on water.
Olie drijft op het water.
L'huile flotte sur l'eau.

(5) The key won't go in the lock.
De sleutel wil niet in het slot.
Le clef ne veut pas entrer dans la serrure.

"inclination is an informal label that could be put on this kind of modality. It covers various types of volition (1), (2), "power" (ie. subject oriented necessity with inanimate subjects, as in (4) and (5), and habits (3). It should be borne in mind that these informal labels have no exclusive value. There is also a certain amount of overlap between the different kinds of subject-oriented necessity: (4) illustrates the indeterminacy between power and habit, (5) that between power and volition. The central modal verbs are *will/willen/vouloir*, except for "power" and habits in Dutch and French, where necessity is rendered as an indicative, and there is no explicit subject oreintation. Other ways of expressing various shades of volition, not illustrated in the examples, include

had/would rather	= zou liever hebben	= aimerais mieux
(would) prefer		préférais
be willing to	= bereid zinj te	= vouloir bien
want to	= willen	= vouloir

It may be noted that French and Dutch *vouloir/willen* are used as the equivalents of the English catenative *want to*.

Indeterminacy: subject-oriented - discourse-oriented necessity.

Such indeterminacy is quite rare. It would occur in the sentence

(6) A kleptomaniac is a person who can't help stealing.
die niet kan nalaten te stelen
qui ne peut s'empecher de voler.

There is an element of obligation (neutral or external), but the necessity can also be seen as subject-oriented. The fact that *can/kunnen/pouvoir* are used has to do with the logical equivalence necessary-not = not-possible in negatives. *Must* and its equivalents can occur in affirmative sentences, eg.: *He is a man who must have money* (in non-epistemic sense).

Indeterminacy: subject-oriented necessity - 'non-modal' future.

Examples of this type of indeterminacy:

(7) Dick, will stand by the anchor?
Wil (zul) jij even op het anker letten?
Veux-tu faire attention à l'ancre?

(8) I shall certainly apologize to the captain, sir.
Ik zal zeker mijn excuses aanbieden aan de kapitein.
Je présenterai certainement mes excuses au capitaine.

As was said before, in this paper we shall limit ourselves to stating the indeterminacy between the two concepts in these examples. When English has *will*, French ans Dutch have the future in statements and *vouloir* resp. *willen* in questions, though *zullen* is possible sometimes, as can be seen in (7). In sentences with English *shall*, Dutch and French have a future (*zullen* resp. 'futur simple').

4.2. Discourse-oriented necessity.

The three subtypes, illustrated in the following list of examples, will be discussed below.

(1) You must have some of this cake.
Je moet (echt) eens van deze koek proeven.
Il faut vraiment que vous goutiez à ce cateau.

(2) Must I go?
Moet ik gaan?
Dois-je m'en aller?

(3) The sale must not be delayed beyond the end of November.
De verkoop mag niet tot na eind november uitgesteld worden.
La vente ne peut etre remise au-delà de fin novembre.

(4) We had to make a special trip to Epsom to collect the bloody thing.
We moesten speciaal naar Epsom om het verdomde ding te gaan halen.
Nous avons du descentre spécialement à E. pour aller chercher ce fichu bazar.

(5) I may need to stay a couple of nights at Minna.
Misschien zal ik een paar nachten in M. moeten doorbrengen.
Peut-etre me faudra-t-il rester quelques nuits a M.

(6) He is to be ready by four.
Hij moet om vier uur klaar zijn.
Il faut qu'il soit pret à quatre heures.
Il doit etre pret à quatre heures.

(7) I must have an immigrant's visa, you see: otherwise they're likely to kick me out.
Ik moet een visum hebben zie je: anders zetten ze me waarschijnlijk aan de deur.
Il me faut vraiment un visa, tu vois, sinon ils me mettront sans doute à la porte.

(8) You should have some of this cake.
Je zou eens van deze koek moeten proeven.
Tu devrais gouter à ce gateau.

(9) You needn't to take this down.
Je hoeft dat niet te noteren.
Ce n'est pas la peine que tu notes cela./Tu ne dois pas noter cela./Tn n'as pas besoin de.../Il n'est pas nécessaire de... .

The informal label that could be put on the notion of discourse-oriented necessity would be 'obligation' but, as elsewhere with informal labels, there are instances which are not entirely covered by this.

4.2.1. Internal necessity is illustrated by examples (1)-(3). Here the obligation is imposed by the speaker (or by the addressee in questions). This category corresponds with Palmer's deontic necessity. The central modal verb, here *must* for English, *moeten* for Dutch, and *devoir* for French. French *falloir* cannot be used for epistemic necessity and is therefore more typically a modal verb expressing discourse-oriented necessity. Eg., *"Il faut qu'il soit chez lui"* can only be interpreted as discourse-oriented necessity whereas *"Il doit etre chez lui"* can be given an epistemic interpretation. On the other hand, *falloir* tends to be used for external, 'objective' necessity, whereas *devoir* is rather more internal when it is used in the root sense. Cf.

Tu dois le faire (I order you)
Il faut que tu le fasses (It is necessary)

The imperative mood, which will not be discussed here, also plays an important role in the three languages. With internal (deontic) necessity, the speaker lays down the obligation while using the modal verb. This performative aspect is absent when there is no immediate present reference (as in past, future, or indirect speech): then we have external necessity, as in example (4). Dutch and French retain the same verb for such cases, but English needs another form, since *must* is typically deontic, ie. performative. Example (3) has negative obligation. The Dutch use of *mogen* is due to the logical equivalence necessary-not = not--possible. But Palmer notes a difference between refusing permission and laying down an obligation not to: "With the former it is to be assumed that the permission is normally required, while with the latter the speaker takes a positive step in preventing the action for which permission may not normally be required. *May not/can't* is not, therefore

the same as *mustn't...*" (Palmer 1979:64). In Dutch, the most common form, viz. *niet mogen*, is used for both these nuances. The difference with *niet moeten* is more a matter of degree : the latter expresses a weak prohibition of discussion, as in:

Je moet het niet zo persoonlijk opvatten.
(You shouldn't take it so personally.)

In French, the distinction *must not-may not* can be made by contrasting *Il ne faut pas que* (necessary-not) and *ne pas pouvoir* (not-possible).

4.2.2. External necessity is illustrated by (4), (5) and (6). Here the obligation is simply stated, and the source of the obligation lies in a third person or in circumstances. The central modal verb forms here are semi-auxiliary *have (got) to* in English, *moeten* in Dutch and *falloir* or *devoir* in French. As example (5) shows, the full verb or catenative *to need to* can also occur. (The auxiliary *need* is used in negatives and questions only, and expresses neutral necessity.) Reported commands are rendered with *be to* in English (example 6), whereas Dutch and French have the usual *moeten* resp. *devoir*. Apart from these, the three languages have paraphrases like *be obliged to, verplicht zijn te, etre obligé de*, etc. In the French (4), the 'passé composé is a clear indication that the modality has been actualized.

4.2.3. Neutral necessity is exemplified in (7)-(9) above. Here it is impossible to determine whether the necessity is internal or external. This category covers tentative, 'moral' obligation as expressed by *should/ought to* in English, and by *moeten* resp. *devoir* (mainly conditional) in Dutch and French. The speaker will probably agree with the obligation, but he is not its source. This type of obligation may also have the pragmatic value of an offer, as in example (8). Apart from these modal verbs, there are also paraphrases, like *be supposed to/ verondersteld zijn te/ etre censé*, which is perhaps rather more external than *should/ ought to* and their equivalents, and *had better/zou beter/ferais mieux*. French also has a reflexive, *se devoir*, which indicates moral obligation with reference to inherent characteristics of the subject noun phrase. The modality cannot be termed subject-oriented, however, since the grammatical subject is not the source of the modality. Dutch uses

(be)horen. English would use *ought to*, but there is no explicit reference to characteristics of the subject here. An example would be:

A child of your age ought to play.
Een kind van jouw leeftijd (be)hort to spelen.
Un enfant de ton age se dôit de jouer.

Finally, both English and Dutch have a modal that signifies neutral necessity and is used in questions and negatives only: *need/hoeven te* as in (9). French has several possibilites: negative *devoir* is the most common, but *avoir besoin de*, which is used occasionally, only occurs in negative and interrogative contexts, and thus shares this characteristic with its Dutch and English equivalents. For Palmer, *have (got) to* as well as *must* can express neutral necessity (Palmer 1979:93). But in this paper *have (got) to* is considered as the typical form of external obligation. In example (7), *have (got) to* would not convey the sense of urgency that *must* has: it would simply state the obligation, without any speaker involvement at all. In the example as it is, the speaker is not the source of the obligation, but he adds to its urgency by using *must*.

Indeterminacy: discourse-oriented necessity-futurity.

Examples:

(10) Shall we have a cup of coffee?
Zulle we een kopje koffie nemen?
Voulez-vous que nous prenions une tasse de café?
(On prend une tasse de café?) (colloquial)
(Prendons nous une tasse de café?)

(11) You shall have it tomorrow.
Je zult het morgen hebben./Morgen heb je het (zeker).
Tu l'auras demain.

(12) And the president said: "Mrs Dodgson will walk on my right".
Mevrouw D. zal rechts van mij lopen.
Madame D. marshera à ma droite.

Dutch and French have a future (*zullen* or 'future simple'). English has *shall* indicating internal necessity in questions with the first person (example 10), and in statements with the second or third person (example 11). (11) does not express 'obligation' but an undertaking on the part of the speaker: here it has the pragmatic value of a promise. It would express obligation in a sentence like *You shall do as I tell you!*

As always with internal discourse-oriented neccessity, volition on the part of the source of the obligation is implied. It can occur openly in French, as in (10). It should also be pointed out that English *shall* with second or third person, as in (11), always involves discourse-oriented necessity: it is never used as 'pure' future. Example (12) involves neutral necessity, and English has *will* here.

Indeterminacy: discourse oriented necessity - other 'non-modal' cases.

The only instances found involve indeterminacy between neutral obligation and general unreality, as in

(13) We deeply regret that it should have come to this
(dat het zover is gekomen)
dat het zover is moeten komen
(qu'on en soit venu là)
qu'on ait dû en venir là.

4.3. Epistemic necessity.

English makes extensive use of modal auxiliaries to express epistemic necessity, whereas Dutch tends to make use of modal adverbials to express this modality. If a modal verb is used in Dutch, it is often together with such adverbials. In French the picture is similar to Dutch: verb forms can be used alone or together with reinforcing modal abverbials. It would seem that the use of modal adverbials alone as a way of expressing epistemic necessity is less common than in Dutch.

Examples:

(1) He must have been flying too low.
Hij moet (zeker) te laag gevlogen hebben./Hij vloog zeker te laag.
Il a dû voler trop bas./Il doit avoir volé trop bas.

(2) The cost is bound to be great.
De kosten zullen zeker hoog oplopen.
Les frais seront sûrement élevés.

(3) According to the map, this should be the way.
Volgens de kaart zou dit de weg moeten zijn.
Selon la carte, ceci devrait être le bon chemin.

(4) If he saw a light, it can't have been the light of a motor cycle.
Als hij een licht gezien heeft, kan het (zeker) niet het licht

van een motorfiets geweest zijn.
..., was het zeker niet het licht van een motorfiets.
S'il a vu une lumière, ceöa ne peut pas avoir été celle d'une moto.

(5) He may be there, but he needn't be.
Het zou kunnen dat hij er is, maar het zou ook kunnen van niet.
Misschien is hij er, maar misschien ook niet.
?Hij kan daar zijn, maar hij hoeft er niet te zijn.
Il se peut qu'il soit là, mais il se peut aussi que non.

(6) Mary will have driven by John.
M. zal door J gevoerd zijn.
M. aura sans doute été conduite pat Jean.

Example (1) illustrates absolute certainly. This is mostly expressed by *must* in English. Dutch has *moeten* and adverbials like *zeker*. French has stressed *devoir* together with adverbials like *sûrement, sans aucun doute*, etc.[1] These adverbials can equally be used alone. English can express epistemic necessity about a future event by means of the phrase *is bound to*. Dutch and French have a future with the same modal adverbs in such a case; cf. example (2). A tentative expression of absolute certainly can be found in (3): English has *should/ought to*, Dutch and French have *moeten* resp. *devoir* in the conditional form. But it should be pointed out that such tentative epistemic necessity is often indeterminate with neutral discourse-oriented necessity, especially when it has future reference (cf. below). Examples (4) and (5) illustrate negation. The forms for epistemic possibility are used when the propostion is negated as in (4). This is due to the logical equivalence necessary-not = not -possible. When the modality is negated, the equivalence not-necessary = possible-not allows for the forms of epistemic possibility to be used in the three languages (eg. *may not* in the case of English), but as (5) shows, English accepts necessity modals (*needn't, mustn't*) when "it is important to make the judgement in terms of necessity rather than possibility" (Palmer 1979:54). (6) is an example of a less emphatic way of expressing certainty. English has *will*, French and Dutch have a future

[1] Without special emphasis or adverbials that increase the certainty, French *devoir* would express relative certainty rather than absolute certainty. It would then be an equivalent of English *will* as in example (6).

and/or modal adverbials like *vraisemblablement, sans doute, probablement, (hoogst) waarschijnlijk*, etc. French can also have unstressed *devoir*.

Indeterminacy: epistemic necessity - 'non-modal' future.

Examples:

(7) John will be coming tomorrow.
Jan zal morgen (wel) komen.
Jean viendra vraisemblablement demani.

The indeterminacy is due to the use of *will/zullen*/'futur simple'. All such instances are in fact epistemic with future reference. English also has the expression *be likely* here, as in *There are likely to be accidents*.

Indeterminacy: epistemic necessity - root necessity.

Examples:

(8) For the English historian it must have a preculiar importance because of the possible light it throws on Melpham.
Voor de historicus van Engeland
moet het een speciaal belang hebben.
(heeft het zeker een speciaal belang).
Pour l'historien de l'Angleterre cela
doit avoir
a certainement une importance particulière.

(9) This can mean, (thogh it doesn't have to mean) deliverance from time and history.
Dit kan betekenen (maar hoeft niet te betekenen) bevrijding van tijd en geschiedenis.
Ce qui peut signifier (mais ne signifie pas nécessairement) la délivrance vis-à-vis du temps et de l'histoire.

(10) He ought to came tomorrow, shouldn't he?
Hij zou morgen moeten komen, niet waar?
Il devrait venir demain, n'est-ce pas?

Most of these cases involve a blend of neutral obligation and epistemic necessity indicated by the forms *should/ought to* and a conditional form of *moeten* resp. *devoir*. They have future reference, as can be seen from (10). But *must* and *have to*, and their equivalents in the other languages,

can also be indeterminate as is shown in (8) and (9).

5. POSSIBILITY

5.1. Subject-oriented possibility.

The informal label to be attached to the main type of subject-oriented possibility is 'ability'. But the category also includes 'courage' (in a rather weak sense). This has been included because in English *dare* is considered as a modal auxiliary on formal grounds, viz. its defectiviness. Semantically it is subject-oriented, and the action in the propositions is made possible by the subject's 'courage'. Dutch *durven* and French *oser* are formally more like catenatives, ie. like the full verb *to dare* in English. These verbs play only a marginal part in the system and they are not illustrated in the examples given here:

(1) John can run a mile in four minutes.
J. kan in 4 minuten een mijl lopen.
Jean peut courir le mille en 4 minutes.

(2) Yes, you must be doing that, I can see that.
Dat zie ik wel./Dat kan ik wel begrijpen.
oui je le vois bien./Je comprends bien.

(3) He has marvellous eyes, he can see the tiniest detail.
Hij kan het kleinste detail zien.
Il peut voir le moindre détail.

(4) John could run a mile in four minutes when he was younger.
J. kon in 4 minuten een mijl lopen toen hij jonger was.
J. puovait courir le mille em minutes quand il était plus jeune.

(5) I could almost reach the branch.
Ik kon bijna aan de tak.
Je pouvais presque toucher la branche.

(6) And yet you're able to look at the future in this very objective way.
En toch { kunt U de toekomst aanschouwen / bent U in staat om de toekomst te aanschouwen } etc.
Et cependant vous pouvez regarder l'avenir de cette façon si objective.

(7) I run fast, and was able to catch the bus.
Ik liep vlug, en kon de bus nog net halen.
J'ai couru vite, si bien que j'ai pu attraper le bus.

Ability can be paraphrased as "possibility in relation to the subject". The central means to express ability is *can* in English, *kunnen* in Dutch and *pouvoir/savoir* in French (cf.example 1). There is a lexical difference between these two verbs in French, in that *savoir* indicates a permanent ability (as in *Je sais nager*) and *pouvoir* a non-permanent ability (*Je peux nager les 100 mètres en 2 minutes*). The verbs are central in the system of ability, and complement each other. The distinction appears to be neutralized however in polite, tentative negatives in the 'conditionnel', as in *Je ne saurais le faire*. In (2), we have a 'private' verb: there is little or no difference between ability and accomplishment (the modality is actualized), and *can* tends to lose its distinctive modal meaning. French tends to avoid modal verbs here, Dutch has the choice. In (3) however we have real ability: there is no actuality here, and Frech and Dutch have corresponding markers of subject-oriented possibility. When there is reference to the past, *could* and *be able to* are used in English, *kunnen* in Dutch, *pouvoir/savoir* in French. In English, *could* is used to refer to a general ability without actuality, as in (4), whereas *be able to* has to be used to refer to the accomplishment of a single event (ie. the modality is actualized), as in (7), where *could* would be ungrammatical. It can be noted that in French the 'passé composé' is possible only with actualized modality, whereas the 'imparfait' leaves this unspecified. The English rule on the ungrammaticality of *could* for actualized ability is related with private verbs and in non-assertive contexts such as negatives or cases like (5), where the 'almost' indicates the 'almost-non-occurence' of the event (Palmer 1980:95). Questions also belong to such non-assertive contexts:

e.g. How could you do such a thing?
Hoe kon je zoiets doen? Hoe heb je zoiets kunnen doen?
Comment as-tu pu faire une chose pareille?

Example (6) shows that *be able to* is preferred in the present because there is a strong implication of actuality. For the sake of completeness paraphrases like *to be capable of*, *in staat zijn (om) te*, *être capable de*, *en mesure de*, etc. should also be mentioned.

Indeterminacy: subject-oriented - discourse-oriented possibility.

Examples include:

(8) I can tell you the reference, if that's any help.
Ik kan je de referentie geven, als dat helpt.
Je peux te donner la référence si cela t'est d'une quelconque utilité.

(9) Jane, darling, I'm so glad you could make it.
Ik ben zo blij dat je het gahaald hebt./..dat je kunnen komen bent.
Je suis tellement content(e) que tu aies pu venir.

(10) ...buying the most substantial property you can buy.
... de grootste eigendom kopen die je kunt kopen.
... la plus grande propriété qu'on puisse acheter.

Since *can/kunnen/pouvoir* are the central verbs in both ability and discourse-oriented possibility (neutral or external), there is bound to be indeterminacy as to whether the source of the possibility is inherent to the subject or not. In a large number of cases both modalities seemed to be present to a greater or lesser extent (examples 8 and 9). In certain cases (example 10), the context could disambiguate the modal verb, but often it is virtually impossible to distinguish one modality from the other. The only category to cover the modality of such sentences with complete certainly would be 'root possibility'. It should also be noted that whenever there is a human (or even animate) subject, one is tempted to interpret the modality as ability rather than as discourse-oriented possibility. English has *can*, as well as *could* and *be able to*; French and Dutch have respectively *pouvoir* and *kunnen* and some paraphrases like *être capable de*, *in staat zijn te*, etc. The indeterminacy also occurs in cases where French has *ne savoir* in the 'conditionnel': *Je ne saurais vous le dire*.

5.2. Discourse-oriented possibility.

As with discourse-oriented necessity, three subtypes can be distinguished: internal, external and neutral. These will be discussed after the list of representative examples.

(1) May I have the salt, please.
Mag ik het zout even (hebben) a.u.b.?
Puis-je avoir le sel s'il vous plait?

(2) You may not smoke in here.
U mag hier niet roken.
Vous ne pouvez pas fumer ici.

(3) May I come in?
Zou ik mogen binnenkomen? (?Mag ik {misschien / soms} binnenkomen.
Pourrais-je entrer?

(4) Can I get you a drink?
Mag/kan ik u (misschien) iets aanbieden?
Puis-je vous offrir quelque chose à boire?

(5) You can forget about him!
Je kunt hem wel vergeten./Vergeet hem maat.
Celui-là, tu peux l'oublier./Ne pense plus à celui-là.

(6) You may take it from me.
U mag dat van me aannemen./Neem dat maar van me aan.
Vpuz puovez me croire./Croyez-moi.

(7) Greek can be learnt by anyone.
Grieks kan door om het even wie geleerd worden.
Le Grec peut être appris par n'importe qui.

(8) Here, June, can you give me a hand with this harness?
Kun je me even helpen met dit gareel?
Peux-tu me donner un coup de main puor fixer ce harnais?

(9) ..., where you may find the neat little Norman church of Pennant Melangell.
..., waar u het mooie Normandische kerkje van P.M. kunt vinden.
..., où vous pouvez trouver la jolie petite église de P.M.

(10) You might try nagging the Abbey National again.
Je zou weer kunnen proberen by A.N. aan te dringen.
Tu pourrais insister à nouveau auprès de l'A.N.

(11) I might as well have stayed at home.
Ik {zou / had} net zo goed {hebben kunnen thuisblijven. / kunnen thuisblijven.}
J'aurais pu tout aussi bien rester chez moi.

(12) Would Professor Werth be able to sign some cheques this afternoon?
Zou Professor W. vannamiddag een paar cheques kunnen ondertekenen?
Est-ce que le Pr. W. pourrait signer quelques cheques cet après-midi?

(13) These aspects are to be found in his entire work.
Deze aspecten zijn in hele oeuvre terug te vinden.
Ces aspects peuvent être retrouvés dans toute son oeuvre.

(14) We could be in Africa.
We zouden wel in Africa kunnen zijn.
On pourrait aussi bien être en Afrique.

(15) As a student I couldn't get a key.
Als student kon ik geen sleutel krijgen.
En tant qu'étudiant je ne puovais pas avoir de clef.

(16) Bill is allowed to have a choice.
Bill mag kiezen.
Bill peut choisir.

(17) Can I ring you back?
Kan ik u weer opbellen?
Puis-je vous rappeler?

(18) You can smoke in here.
U kunt hier roken.
VOus pouvez fumer ici.

5.2.1. Internal discourse oriented possibility can be found in examples (1)-(6). The informal label here is 'permission', granted or refused by the speaker, or required from the addressee. The central verbs are *may* (and *can*) for English, *mogen* (and *kunnen*) for Dutch, and *pouvoir* for French. In English and Dutch, *may/mogen* is more formal than *can/kunnen*, and cannot be ambiguous with other types of root possibility. Examples like (1) or (4) show that the sense of permission can be rather weak, but they are clearly instances of deontic possibility. Requests and offers like these could be considered separately in a pragmatic component, but in a semantic model they belong together with the other examples in this section. Similarly (5) and (6) have in fact the value if a command (imperatives are possible in Dutch and French, but one may note the

downtoners (*wel, maar*) in Dutch). However, they are clearly not cases of deontic necessity: the modality in these sentences is possibility, and it is only in certain contexts, and with certain intonation patterns, that it can have the implication of a command. Example (2) illustrates negation. The difference with *must not* in English has already been dealt with (cf. p.). The tentative way of asking for permission is *might (could)* in English, conditional *mogen (kunnen)* in Dutch, and *pouvoir* in French (example 3).

5.2.2. With external possibility, exemplified in (7)-(16), the source of the modality does not lie with the speaker or the addressee, but with other situational factors, such as circumstances. The informal label would be ' theoretical possibility,'[1] and a paraphrase would be: 'It is possible (for X) to...' The central verb forms are *can/kunnen/pouvoir*. English also has *may* (example 9-11) and *be able to* (example 12). One should also point out here the use of *be to* + a perfect infinitive, as in (13). Dutch has a similar construction, but with a simple infinitive.[2] Theoretical possibility is closely related to ability: the only difference lies in the source of the modality: the subject for ability, external factors

[1] This term does not imply that the possibility cannot be actualized.

[2] *Be to* is an exceptional form: it can be used not only for possibility, as in example (13), but also to express necessity, as in example (6) in section 4.2.. This is highly unusual, since normally a form for possibility can be used to express necessity in negatives only. (This is connected with the logical equivalence necessary-not ≡ not-possible, discussed elsewhere in this paper.) It follows from the special status of *be to* that in certain cases with a passive infinitive indeterminacy between necessity and possibility may occur, as in

Conditions were treacherous and mistakes were to be expected.
De omstandigheden waren verraderlijk en fouten waren te verwachten/konden (moesten) verwacht worden.
Les conditions étaient trompeuses si bien qu'on pouvait/devait s'attendre à des fautes.

In Dutch and French *moeten* and *kunnen* resp. *devoir* and *pouvoir* appear to be interchangeable with little difference in meaning in this example. More reasearch on *be to* and its equivalents in the other two languages is needed before definite conclusions can be drawn as to the position of this type of indeterminacy in the framework.

here. But even the active counterpart of a sentence like (7), viz. *Anyone can learn Greek*, cannot be considered as expressing ability: the subject 'anyone' is too impersonal to be seen as the source of the modality; the possibility cannot be determined by inherent properties of such a subject. Sentence (8) shows how this kind of possibility is often used in requests. (14) illustrates unreality. Such a sentence, if said on a warm night in Finland, indicates theoretical possibility. Dutch and French use conditonal *kunnen* and *pouvoir* here. We may note again in French the only central verb form for theoretical possibility is *pouvoir*, *savoir* can be used in negatives in the 'conditionnel': *On ne saurait penser à tout.* In a few instances, English also has *may* (and *might*) (9-11). But this is clearly not epistemic possibility: the French and Dutch equivalents never contain the modal adverbs or paraphrases which are so common with epistemic possibility. (10) and (11) illustrate some pragmatic uses of theoretical possibility again: suggestion in (10), irritation of the speaker in (11). In examples (15) and (16) there is an element of permission, but the modality cannot be deontic/internal: there is no speaker involment at all. Dutch *mogen* can occur in such sentences, whereas English *may* can be deontic only.

5.2.3. Neutral possibility (examples 17-18) consists, similarly to neutral necessity, of cases where the source of the possibility is left vague: it may be internal and/or external, or simply unspecified. *Can* and *could* are the most common in English, but *may* also occurs, as well as paraphrases. Dutch has *kunnen* (and *mogen*) and French *pouvoir*, and also paraphrases. (17) shows the possible pragmatic use of this kind of possibility in requests. It also occurs in offers, eg. in *You can give me a ring*. In (18) there is an example of indeterminacy between internal and extrenal possibility: it is not known whether the speaker gives permission himself (deontic/internal) or whether he just notifies that permission has been granted, hence that the (theoretical) possibility exists (= *You are allowed to smoke here*). Dutch-speaking learners of English and French should be careful when translating such sentences as

Mag je zoiets wel doen van je vader?
Mag je dat wel doen?

Paraphrases have to be used in English and French:

Does your father allow you to do that?

Are you allowed to do that?

Est-ce que ton père te permet de faire cela?

Est-ce que tu as le droit de faire cela?

Pouvoir in (16) (cf. preceding section) is possible because there is a stronger element of theoretical possibility in that sentence.

Indeterminacy discourse-oriented possibility - 'non-modal'

Examples:

(1) However difficult it may be...

Hoe moeilijk het ook { zij / moge zijn }

Aussi difficile que { ce soit / cela puisse être }

(2) May God bless you all.

Moge God u allen zegenen.

Que Dieu vous bénisse tous.

This is parallel with the indeterminacy involving necessity that was explained earlier (p.). English has subjunctive (?) *may* here, French and Dutch have a subjunctive, sometimes with *pouvoir/mogen*. English *may* can be seen as expressing a weak kind of neutral discourse-oriented possibility, but this use of *may* in English could also be called non-modal (ie. modal in a wider sense only) and be seen as an example of unreality as indicated by the subjunctive mood. That would explain the equivalents without modal verbs in the other two languages, and the equivalence of the English (2) with *God bless you all*.

5.3. Epistemic possibility

Like epistemic necessity, epistemic or 'factual' possibility is characterized in Dutch and French by the relative unimportance of verb forms, as opposed to English, where *may* (and the tentative *might*) is central, and *can*(*could*) is used in questions and negatives. Modal adverbs like *perhaps* and *possibly*, and paraphrases like *It is possible that* can occur, either alone or together with modals (4), but not to the same extent as in the other languages. Dutch makes use of *misschien*

and other adverbs or paraphrases like *het is mogelijk dat, het kan (zijn) dat*. In the latter paraphrase a modal verb is used, but the paraphrase removes it from the proposition. French also uses this technique: *Il se peut que* is quite common, as well as *Il est possible que* and adverbials like *peut-être*. The following is a list of representative examples:

(1) He may be working in his study.
Misschien is hij in z'n studeervertrek aan het werken.
(Hij zou (misschien) kunnen in zijn studeervertrek aan het werken zijn).
Peut-être travaikke-t-il sans son bureau.
Il se peut qu'il travaille dans son bureau.

(2) I may go up at the end of August.
Ik ga misschien eind augustus.
Ik zou (eventueel) eind augustus kunnen gaan.
Het is mogelijk dat ik eind augustus ga.
J'irai peut-être à la fin du mois d'août.
Il se peut que j'y aille à la fin du mois d'août.

(3) You may not have met her.
Misschien heb je haar nog niet ontmoet.
Peut-être ne l'as-tu pas encore recontrée.

(4) You may possibly prefer that one.
Je hebt misschien liever die daar.
Tu préfères peut-être celui-la.
Il se peut que tu préfères celui-la.

(5) He might have been there while you were there.
Hij was misschien daar terwijl jij er ook was.
Hij kan daar (misschien) geweest zijn terwijl...
Il était peut-être là quand tu étais là./ Il se peut qu'il ait été là...

Epistemic *kunnen* and *pouvoir*, except in questions and negatives, are either awkward or impossible if they are kept within the proposition. In Dutch, if they are used all, they often co-occur with adverbials (examples 2 and 5). Example (1) shows the use of the progressive form in English, by means of which ambiguity with discourse-oriented possibility is avoided. (2) has future reference, and in (3) the modality concerns a past event (cf. the perfect infinitive in English). (3) is

also an illustration of negation of the event, whereas in (7) below it is the modality that is negated: this form means the same as negation of the event epistemic necessity because of the logical equivalence necessary-not = not-possible (but see below for another type of ambiguity). *Might* is the tentative form of *may*. It is also used in conditionals or other cases of 'unreality'. Example (5) is an illustration of its tentative use. French and Dutch do not have such a neat distinction as between *may* and *might* in English. The distinction is not always made, or *might* is rendered by the adding of extra modal adverbials or intonation making the possibility more remote. The tentative forms of the modal verb (*zou kunnen* in Dutch, the 'conditionnel' in French) are sometimes used, though not very frequently. Epistemic possibility is questioned and negated by means of *can* (and *could*) in English. (cf. examples (6), (7) and (8) below). It would seem however that whenever epistemic possibility is questioned or negated, there is indeterminacy with external or neutral discourse-oriented possibility. It follows that the Dutch and French translations of the examples can have either a modal verb or an adverbial.

Indeterminacy: epistemic-discourse oriented possibility

Examples:

(6) Can they be on holiday?
Is het mogelijk dat ze met vakantie zijn?
Zijn ze misschien met vakantie?
(Kunnen ze met vakantie zijn?)
Seraient-ils peut-être en vacances?
Est-il possible qu'ils soient en vacances?

(7) You cannot have met her: she's never been in the country.
Je kunt haar onmogelijk ontmoet hebben.
Het kan niet / Het is niet mogelijk } dat je haar ontmoet hebt.
Tu ne peux pas l'avoir rencontrée / Impossible que tu l'aies rencontrée } elle n'a jamais été dans le pays.

(8) I was wondering if it could have been fear.
Ik vroeg me af { of het misschien angst geweest was. / of het (misschien) angst had kunnen zijn. }

Je me demandais { si peut-être cela avait été de la peur / si cela aurait pu être de la peur. }

(9) This could be the all-important round.
Dit zou de allerbelangrijkste ronde kunnen zijn.
Ceci pourrait être la manche décisive.

Sentences (6), and (7) and (8) question or negate epistemic possibility. The same forms can be used to express theoretical possibility in English. It could be argued that the modality in these examples is, in fact, theoretical possibility, the negation or questioning of wihich automatically implies negating or questioning the possibility of the proposition. Example (9) illustrates in fact theoretical possibility. Palmer (1979: 155-57) insists that *could* merely says that something is theoretically possible, whereas *might* commits the speaker to a judgement about the possibility of the truth of the proposition. *Might* can therefore not be used when the possibility is later denied, as in Palmer's example:

This picture { *could* / *might* } *be a Chagall, but is in fact a Braque.*

Misschien and *peut-être* are not possible in Dutch and French here, and we have an unambiguous instance of theoretical possibility. But in real-life situations, such fine points tend to be disregarded, and example (11) could also be used epistemically.

6. CONCLUSION

The present paper is only an outline of the basic functional framework within which a constrastive description of modality in the three languages should be possible. Much more attention will have to be paid to points of grammar that have hardly been mentioned here. A list of modal auxiliaries and their translations would not be usable for a contrastive description, whereas the framework discussed in this paper is. All the examples so far have been dealt with without streching the system. It is true that most contrastive descriptions of modality nowadays are more or less functional, in the sense that they discuss ways of expressing 'permission', 'volition', 'habits', 'obligation', etc. (eg. Aarts and Wekker 1982), but they do not use the rigidly defined concepts and terminology which have been used in this paper. These concepts are necessary to give one a better insight into the

very complex field if modality. A number of points will have become clear from the survey in sections 4 and 5: English has a more complex system of modal verbs, and with epistemic modality they are used more widely that the other means which the language has at its disposal. This should be stressed in any pedagogical grammar of English, since modal auxiliaries are generally underrepresented in the expression of epistemic modality by Dutch speaking students.

As far as French is concerned, the model is equally useful, although the small number of forms that can express possibility might mean that a simplified outline of the framework is sufficient to teach learners how to express this degree of modality. The detailed framework however would also be useful, viz. for the comprehension of the French modal verbs (which, because of their small number, show a lot of ambiguity), and also to account for the various paraphrases and modal adverbs. In this way, the model could be useful to teach the students about modalities rather than modals. The need for this is evident of we look at learners' performance: in English, for example, students past the intermediate level will have little difficulty with eg. the defectiveness of the modal auxiliaries, but there remains utter confusion with the plethora of modal verbs in English. Students have 'no feeling' for the various nuances, sometimes not even in their mother tongue. It would be of help therefore to teach students more about concepts like internal and external, epistemic and discourse-oriented modality, ie. to teach them about meaning. Learning about meaning is part of learning to communicate. It might be especially useful in remedial courses, as is suggested by Wilkins (1979:92): "Existing approaches to remedial teaching tend to be little more than a repetition of initial teaching procedures". In the case of modality, it would mean teaching about modal verbs again. Wilkins goes on: "A notional approach can provide a way of developing communicatively what is already known while, at the same time, enabling the teacher to fill the gaps in the learner's knowledge of the language. In either case the learner will have an awareness that he is doing something fresh."

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PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF DEFINITE DETERMINATION WITHOUT 'PRIOR MENTION' IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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Motto: Take care of the sense and the sounds will take care of themselves (Duchess to Alice).

1. *Preliminaries.* In spite of considerable differences concerning formal aspects of determination in English and Polish, in both languages the range of definite determination covers three basic types of 'pointing at objects', as they were distinguished by Bühler: *ostension* (pointing *ad oculos*), ie. deixis proper, where definite reference is achieved by locating objects in real space; *anaphora* (linguistic 'prior mention') with spacial relations mapped upon the time axis, and *cataphora*, where the definite determiner functions as an 'augury' (the term used in Klemensiewicz 1963) of some information which will ensure definite reference but which is only about to come further in the discourse.

In all the three cases a relative clause of some kind is either present in the surface structure, or else it can be postulated as a deep structure constituent: as was claimed by Vendler (1975:123), "the insertion of a restrictive clause after a noun is a necessary condition of its acquiring a definite article". I will modify this statement by enlarging the category of definite determiners to include demonstrative pronouns - *this* or *that* in English, *ten* (or stylistically marked *ów*) or *tamten* in Polish. Indeed, in ostensive expressions, demonstratives are typically used, the relative clause - 'the x that I am showing you' - being characteristically replaced by extra-linguistic elements present in the speech situation of which the given utterance is a part. On the other hand, anaphoric definite expressions serve the purpose of establishing a case of coreferentiality within a discourse: 'the x I have just spoken about', or 'the x which I am, or you are, speaking about'. Thus an anaphoric definite determiner is used to ensure 'story-relative' identification (cf. Strawson 1974). Typically, anaphoric definite descriptions employ *the* in English and ∅ in Polish. In Polish, an alternative occurrence of the demonstrative *ten* - usually in postposition - is conditioned by grammatical structure and lexical contents of the utterance (for a discussion, see eg. Bogusławski 1977:120-126, Szwedek 1976).

In this paper, however, I intend to concentrate on the third category of definite expressions, ie. *cataphora*. It is here that the distribution of determiners proves most complex, the choice being conditioned by pragmatic factors. It is a matter of common agreement that in English cataphoric definite reference can be marked both by the definite article *the* and the demonstrative pronoun *that*. Polish sources claim that the function of 'anticipated identification of something that is to be defined by the text' (Topolińska 1973:39, translation - ET) or of 'instructing the hearer that he should get the appropriate content from the following context' (Jodłowski 1976:183, translation - ET) is performed by the demonstrative pronoun *ten*. While Jodłowski claims that the pronoun can 'often be omitted', the distribution being conditioned by 'customary usage' (1973:80ff), Topolińska states that its occurence is '*ex definitione* facultative' (1973:39). It is the purpose of this paper to show that this is not the case, and that the distribution of *ten* vs. Ø in Polish cataphoric definite expressions is strictly parallel to the distribution of *that* and *the* in corresponding structures in English, a fact that might prove relevant for a contrastive analysis of the systems of determination in the two languages.

2. *The data*. The limits set for the scope of this paper impose certain restrictions upon the length of the discussion. First, I shall only deal with those aspects of determination that are reflected in the structure of the NP, and not in the structure of the sentence - an assumption especially relevant for an analysis of Polish, the language in which determination is often realized in terms of sentence stress, word order, etc., rather than by means of overt lexical markers (cf. eg. Szwedek 1976). Second, only such cases will be covered in which the noun in question is in the singular and displays the features [+count, -gen] ; in other words, I shall limit the discussion to Russellian *definite descriptions*. Third, I will consider only two pairs of definite determiners: *the* vs. *that* in English and *ten* (or its appropriate flectional variants) and Ø in Polish, confining myself to the unstressed forms. The stressed counterparts bear additional contrastive meaning, which conditions the rules of their distribution in both prior and first mention contexts in some ways which I cannot discuss here.

As it is my purpose to show that a choice of a definite determiner, both in English and in Polish, depends ultimately on the communicative function which the speaker intends his utterance to perform, when choosing my data I decided to look for utterances in which any additional ostensive or contextual information which is usually supplied by nonverbal elements of the situation of which the utterance forms a part might be expressed

verbally. I found that the type of discourse which fulfills this condition in the most adequate way is a joke: a complete mini-discourse, where all deictic elements are either 'translated' into words or supplied by an accompanying cartoon. Jokes often focus on the pragmatics of determination and reference, the two aspects of meaning which are of equal importance for the intended effect of a joke and for the intended effect of the present argument. Moreover, most jokes - again like this argument - are based upon the conviction that pragmatic presuppositions are crucial for the intended function of an utterance. Last but not least, the textual 'completeness' of a joke makes it possible to avoid explanatory 'footnotes' when providing translation equivalents. (It goes without saying that the latter objective means limiting the choice to samples only that are pragmatically 'universal', ie. are not based upon culture-specific knowledge which might be a hermetic property of a single speech-community.) Finally, I do realize that a joke dies hard in the hands of a linguist, as to explain a joke is to kill it. I can only hope the sacrifice will not be utterly in vain.

All examples quoted in the course of the following analysis come from *Reader's Digest*.

3. *The analysis*. As the first example, let us consider

1.1. We have decided to let you have that dog you wanted.

1.1. is uttered by a man depicted in a cartoon which shows him coming home with a huge and fierce-looking boxer which he is about to pass on to a couple of his frightened and disappointed children. The point of the joke is made by our realization that the father must have presupposed that both he himself and his children (ie. 'the speaker' and 'the hearers' respectively) had been or would be able to *actually identify* one particular dog, the unique referent of the definite description. Yet the man has obviously made the wrong choice: what makes the joke funny is our recognition of what might be called a presupposition failure. In 1.1. the function of definite determination is performed by the demonstrative pronoun; replacing it with the definite article gives

1.2. We have decided to let you have the dog you wanted,

which, although still perfectly acceptable, is pragmatically less appropriate: the joke simply becomes less funny. Definite descriptions employing both *that* and *the* logically presuppose the existence of a unique referent, but while the former in addition pragmatically presupposes the ability to identify it on the part of both the speaker and the hearer, the latter remains neutral in this respect. Yet referent identification is the most

crucial pragmatic aspect of 1.1.: the communicative function of the restrictive relative clause is precisely to ensure identifiability.

The pragmatic equivalent of 1.1. in Polish is

1.3. Postanowiliśmy sprawić wam tego psa, któregoście (tak)[1] chcieli,

where the demonstrative pronoun *ten* performs the function of the definite determiner. While the use of Ø would still preserve the definiteness of the NP:

1.4. Postanowiliśmy sprawić wam psa, któregoście (tak) chcieli,

it is less appropriate than 1.3., for exactly the same reason as that found for their respective English counterparts: while *ten* carries the pragmatic presupposition of actual referent identifiability on the part of the participants in the discourse, the Ø determiner is pragmatically unmarked: the question of the speaker's and/or the hearer's acquaintance with the object at issue is left open.

Let us turn consider

2.1. The best way to get real enjoyment out of a garden is to put on a straw hat, dress in old clothes, hold a trowel in one hand and a cool drink in the other, and tell *the man* where to dig.

The point of the joke is the little satisfaction that the hearer (or, strictly speaking, the reader) finds in his being able to recover the deleted relative clause - eg. 'whom one had hired to do the job'. Notice that the demonstrative pronoun could not serve as an appropriate replacement for the definite article:

2.2. ... and tell that man where to dig.

results in a pragmatic presupposition failure, which the speaker obviously could not have intended: the purpose of the definite description in 2.1. is to characterise an (only and existing) referent, and not to provide information adequate for its identification: while potentially identifiable for the hearer (in case he has indeed hired a man to do the digging in his garden), it remains non-identifiable for the speaker. The identity of the referent is irrelevant from the point of view of the pragmatic function of the utterance.

Predictably, the Polish equivalent of 2.1. requires the use of the Ø form:

2.3. Najlepszy sposób czerpania prawdziwej przyjemności z ogrodu polega na tym, aby włożyć słomiany kapelusz, ubrać się w stare ciuchy, wziąć do jednej ręki rydel a do drugiej szklankę z czymś zimnym do picia i powiedzieć facetowi, gdzie ma kopać.

[1] An optional intensifier.

Replacing ∅ with *ten* results in lack of understanding, due to presupposition failure:

2.4. ... i powiedzieć temu facetowi, gdzie ma kopać.

inevitably provokes the question 'what man?'.

It will be noticed that the difference in the type of reference intended in 1.1. (and 1.3.) and 2.1. (and 2.3.) respectively can be explained in terms of the semantic opposition [+/- specific], cf.

1.5. We have decided to let you have that dog you wanted, whichever dog it is.

2.5. ... and tell the man - after you have found one - where to dig.

But the semantic property of specificity of reference need not entail the pragmatic property of actual referent identification. This is best illustrated by those first-mention definite descriptions which Hawkins (1978) calls referent-establishing expressions. Consider

3.1. A little boy came home with a five dollar bill and said he found it. 'Are you sure it was lost?' asked his mother. 'Sure I'm sure', said the little boy. 'I saw *the man* looking for it'.

As postulated by Hawkins, the definite description in 3.1. establishes a specific referent for the hearer (by relating it to some familiar object or setting the knowledge of which he shares with the speaker) without, however, assuming that the referent is, or can be, actually identified by both participants in the discourse. Pragmatically, 3.1. is equivalent to an indefinite description or an anaphora:

3.2. ... there was a man looking for it and I saw him.

In 3.1. the definite article cannot (apart from a special case of egocentric reference) be replaced with a demonstrative:

3.3. ... 'I saw that man looking for it'.

Predictably again, the Polish equivalent of 3.1. employs ∅:

3.4. Chłopiec wraca do domu z pięciodolarowym banknotem i powiada, że go znalazł. 'Czy jesteś pewien, że banknot został zgubiony?', pyta go matka. 'Jasne, że jestem pewien', odpowiada chłopiec. 'Widziałem, jak facet go szukał'.

Finally, if a definite description can, within its context, perform the communicative function of either characterisation or identification (by any or both participants in a discourse) of a referent, the speaker can choose between the two types of determiners, depending on which of these functions he intends to highlight:

4.1. The / That candy bar you take into the woods should provide at least the energy needed for bringing the wrapper out (a park guide).

4.2. Ø / Ten batomik, który zabierasz ze soba do lasu, powinien ci dostarczyć przynajmniej tyle energii, ile potrzeba do wyniesienia papierka.

4. *Conclusions*. The above examples show that the distribution of *the* and *that* in English first-mention definite descriptions parallels that of Ø and *ten* in Polish, with the respective choices being determined by the pragmatic function of the utterance: characterisation vs. identification of a (unique existent) referent. Thus the choice between *ten* and Ø in Polish is 'optional' only in the same measure as the corresponding choice between *that* and *the* can be considered 'optional' in English: in contexts that potentially allow for both interpretations (cf.4) the speaker's decision depends on which of the two possible communicative functions of his utterance he intends to choose as the prevailing one. It follows as an obvicus conclusion that *ten* can be neither inserted nor deleted at will: in referent-establishing definite descriptions it leads to presupposition failure and, in consequence, lack of understanding (cf.2,3), while its removal from pragmatically identifying utterances deprives the definite expression of the 'pragmatic factor' of its meaning.

Unlike in typical cases of anaphora, in cataphoric definite descriptions *ten* does not correspond to the definite article in English: the latter can be defined as a 'semantic' definite determiner, in the sense that its occurrence in an utterance is conditioned by the existence and uniqueness (in a relative, 'discourse-sensitive' rather than in an absolute sense) of the entity referred to, with the question of the speaker's and/or the hearer's acquaintance with this entity being left open. The former is a 'pragmatic' determiner, since it is just the positive answer to this question that necessarily conditions its choice: as such, it corresponds to its demonstrative counterpart *that*.

In teaching, a clear distinction is usually made between ostension and anaphora. Ostensive expressions constitute a crucial part of standard material used with beginners, while 'prior mention' is the core of classical textbook rules for the use of the definite article in English. Thus the opposition between demonstrative pronouns (in the *ad oculos* contexts) and the article (for the anaphoric contexts) becomes established. In Polish, a corresponding distinction is made between the demonstrative pronoun, obligatory in ostensive contexts, and the same pronoun, considered as optional with anaphora. Contexts are quoted in which the pronoun, and specifically

ten, is shown to function in a way similar to that of the definite article 'in those languages that have one' (cf. eg. Jodłowski 1973:72ff., Topolińska 1973:38, Pisarek 1968:13). The opposition between *ten* and ∅ is characteristically seen as that of grammatical definiteness and indefiniteness of NP's. This of course is true, but it is only part of the truth.

The full picture seems more complex than that. As an example of non-ostensive first-mention definite descriptions shows, the understanding of the system of determination, both in those languages that display the category of article and in those that do not, requires consideration of pragmatic, as well as semantic, factors.

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PREPOSITIONAL USAGE IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS: DIFFERENCES IN SPATIAL PERCEPTION

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1. INTRODUCTION

Different languages express spatial concepts in different ways. According to the Sapir-Whorf-hypothesis, each person sees reality through the eyes of his own language:

> We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages... We cut up nature, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way - an agreement which holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. (Whorf 1956:213).

Speakers of the same speech community agree on the visual characteristics of the object-world - they choose the same parts of objects as semantically salient, whereas speakers of different language groups do not necessarily choose the same perceptual characteristics as important. The grammatical category of preposition is a good example of the way in which different languages express spatial concepts differently: "Prepositions represent a cognitive mapping of a culturally contingent set of visual percepts" (Cooper 1968:2).

In this paper I intend to show that a comparison of prepositional use in English and Afrikaans reveals differences in spatial perception between the speakers of these two languages.

2. DIMENSION

One of the parameters within which the phenomenon of prepositional use can be considered is dimension. When a preposition is used to indicate place, the dimensional features of the location concerned must be taken into consideration. We can group prepositions according to the way in which different dimensional features are ascribed to the referents of the nouns or noun phrases following them (cf. Fillmore 1975; Leech 1969; Quirk et al. 1972; Schwerdtfeger 1980).

Consider the following English sentences:

1. He stopped *at* the point.

2. The book is *on* the table.
3. My clothes are *in* the suitcase.

In (1) *point* refers to an entity without dimension (or where dimension is not considered relevant). In (2) *table* refers to a two-dimensional surface and in (3) *suitcase* refers to a three-dimensional enclosed space. The preposition *at* can only appear before nouns of no dimension or where dimension is not relevant; *on* appears before nouns which refer to two-dimensional unbounded spaces; and *in* appears before nouns which refer to two-dimensional enclosed spaces or three-dimensional containers (see Figure 1).

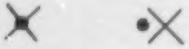
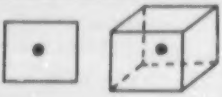
DIMENSION TYPE	EXAMPLE	
0 (point - dimension not relevant)	at	
1 or 2 (line/surface)	on	
2 or 3 (enclosed area/ volume)	in	

Figure 1. The Dimension types of the prepositions *at*, *on* and *in*.

Some nouns have inherent dimensional features, eg. *yard* and *lawn*.

4. The boys are playing *in* the yard.
5. The girls are playing *on* the lawn.

A lawn is usually considered to be a two-dimensional surface, whereas a yard is seen as a bounded area. The following would not be possible in English:

6. *The boys are playing *on* the yard.
7. *The girls are playing *in* the lawn.

Most nouns however can have different dimensional features ascribed to them according to the situation:

8. The stranger is standing *at* the wall.
9. There is writing *on* the wall.
10. There are holes *in* the wall.

In (8), *wall* is neutral with respect to dimension. In (9), a two-dimensional feature is ascribed to *wall* by the preposition on, because the wall is seen as a surface in this case. In (10), *wall* is seen as a three-dimensional entity. These differences in interpretation of *wall* in (8), (9) and (10) have nothing to do with the real dimensional characteristics of the entity. They are based on human perception and have a psychological rather than a geometrical basis:

> These categories have obviously more to do with the apparatus of visual perception than with the objective physical properties of objects as interpreted, for example, in Euclidian geometry (Leech 1969:161-162).

3.1. COMPARISON OF *AT*, *ON* AND *IN* WITH *BY*, *OP* AND *IN*

The English prepositions *at*, *on* and *in* can be translated by the prepositions *by*, *op* and *in* in Afrikaans. Sentences (11), (12) and (13) are the Afrikaans equivalents of (1), (2) and (3) respectively:

11. Hy het *by* die punt stilgehou.
12. Die boek is *op* die tafel.
13. My klere is *in* die koffer.

These prepositions cannot always be used as equivalents.

3.2. *IN* x *OP*

The English preposition *in* is often translated as *op* in Afrikaans:

14. They live *in* the country.
15. Hulle woon *op* die platteland.
16. He is *in* the background.
17. Hy is *op* die agtergrond.

The referents of the nouns *country* and *background* are seen by the English speaker as enclosed areas, while the Afrikaans speaker sees them as unbounded areas. An interesting case is the following:

18. The children are standing *in* a row.
19. Die kinders staan *op* 'n ry.

A row is seen as an enclosed space in English whereas in Afrikaans it is seen simply as a line in the same way as *path* is seen in English:

20. He is walking *on* the path.

In certain cases in Afrikaans, however, a row is seen as an enclosed space, eg.

21. Jan staan eerste *in* die ry.
(John is first in the row)

In (19), *ry* was considered as a line while in (21) it is seen as an enclosed area made up of a number of units.

3.3. AT X OP

There is often no corresponding use of *by* in Afrikaans for the English *at*. Often *op* is used instead of *by*, eg.

22. He is *at* school.
23. Hy is *op* skool.
24. He is *at* the office.
25. Hy is *op* kantoor.

In English the dimensionality of the place is not considered relevant, whereas in Afrikaans it is seen as being a two-dimensional area.

This *at x op* variation is very common in expressions which can be derived from a basic form 'at a place where X is taking place.'

26. He is *at* a congress.
27. Hy is *op* 'n kongres.
28. He is *at* a dinner.
29. Hy is *op* 'n dinee.

Expressions denoting horizontal and vertical distance also show a difference between the English and the Afrikaans view:

at an altitude x *op 'n hoogte*
at a distance x *op 'n afstand*
at a level x *op 'n vlak*
at a depth x *op 'n diepte*

Altitude in English can be seen in terms of a one-dimensional scale, ie. as a point on a line, whereas in Afrikaans it is seen as a two-dimensional level, as illustrated in Figure 2.

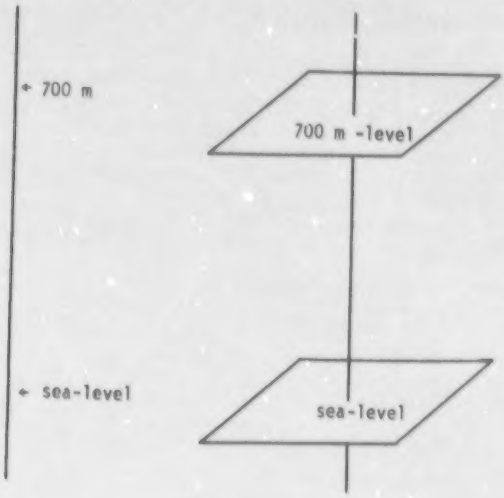


Figure 2. Altitude in English and Afrikaans.

It would appear that these expressions are also derived from a basic underlying form *at a place / op 'n plek*:

at an altitude of 800 m = at a place which is 800 m above sea-level

(op 'n hoogte van 800 m = op 'n plek wat 800 m bo seespieël is

Temporal expressions are often derived from spatial expressions (Schwerdtfeger 1980:120, Traugott 1975:213). Certain temporal expressions can be seen in terms of reference to a point on a time scale, eg. the temporal expression *at this moment* could be derived from a spatial

expression *at this point (in time)*. The Afrikaans equivalent of *at this moment* is *op hierdie oomblik*, which would appear to be derived from a spatial expression where dimension is relevant, whereas the English expression is derived from an expression where dimension is not relevant.

3.3 *AAN X ON*

The English preposition *on* is normally translated by *op* in Afrikaans, but sometimes the preposition *aan* is used before a one-dimensional or "line" noun (Combrink 1978:8):

30. South Africa borders *on* Mozambique.
31. Suid-Afrika grens *aan* Mosambiek.
32. The picture hangs *on* the wall.
33. Die prent hang *aan* die muur.

The distinction between 'bordering on X', where X is seen as a one-dimensional entity, and 'resting on X', where X is seen as a two-dimensional entity, is clearly illustrated by the following example:

34. Die stad is *aan* die rivier gelee.
    (The city lies on the river)
35. Die boot vaar *op* die rivier.
    (The boat sails on the river)

In (34) the river is merely considered as a bordering line, while in (35) it is seen as a surface supporting the boat. This distinction is not made in English. Another example which could illustrate this distinction is:

36. Sy het 'n ring *aan* haar vinger.
    (She wears a ring on her finger)
37. Daar is 'n swaar gewig *op* haar vinger.
    (There is a heavy weight on her finger)

In the one instance the ring is merely touching the surface of the finger which is viewed as a border contact. In the other the finger is viewed as a supporting surface.

4. TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS OF *BEYOND*

Apart from dimension there are a number of other parameters within which the differences between prepositional use can be considered. There is no direct equivalent for the preposition *beyond* in Afrikaans. The variety of ways in which it can be translated reflects a variety of different ways in perceiving reality. In the sentence

38. Dias sailed *beyond* Da Gama

beyond indicates movement past a point on a track (see Figure 3.) which is reflected in the Afrikaans translation *verder as* ('further than'):

39. Dias het *verder as* Da Gama geseil

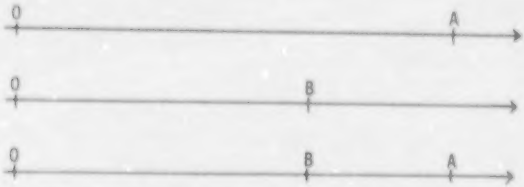


Figure 3. *Beyond* vs. *verder as*.

In a sentence like

40. They lived *beyond* the river

beyond can be seen as indicating the crossing of a border (see Figure 4.) as indicated by the Afrikaans translation *oorkant* ('on the other side'):

41. Hulle woon *oorkant* die rivier

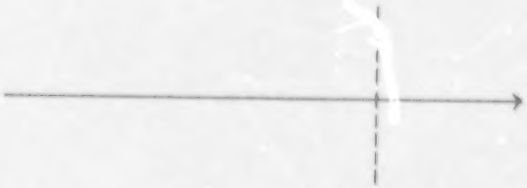


Figure 4. *Beyond* vs. *oorkant*.

The *beyond*-construction can sometimes be seen in terms of movement from an enclosed space to an unlimited space outside (see Figure 5.). This is particularly in the case of abstract locatives. In (42) *beyond* is translated by *buite* ('outside'):

42. He is *beyond* the border/hope.
43. Hy is *buite* die grens/hoop.

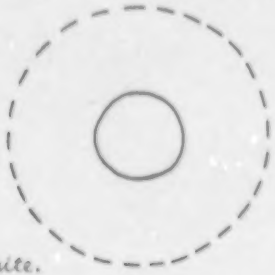


Figure 5. *Beyond* vs. *buite*.

The *beyond*-construction can also be seen in terms of movement along the vertical axis (cf. Figure 6.). In this case *beyond* is translated by *bo* ('above'):

44. It is *beyond* my reach/power.
45. Dit is *bo* my bereik/mag.

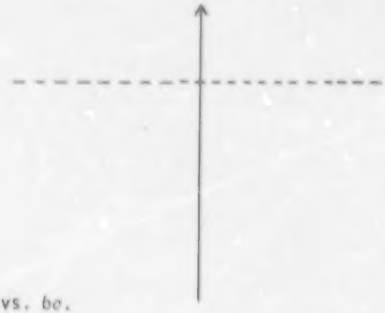


Figure 6. *Beyond* vs. *bo*.

An interesting case is the following

46. No smoking *beyond* this point.

in which the movement is visualized as passing a point along a horizontal line and going into a prohibited area. In Afrikaans there is a significant difference in locative focus. By using the word *binne* ('within') the Afrikaans speaker focuses directly on the prohibited area and not on the point where the notice is at the entrance to the area:

47. Rook verbode *binne* hierdie gebied.
(Smoking forbidden within this area)

5. CONCLUSION

A comparison of prepositional use in Afrikaans and English reveals a number of subtle differences in spatial perception. In many cases nouns are marked for dimension in Afrikaans whereas in English they are unmarked. In other cases what are considered unbounded spaces by the Afrikaans speaker are considered enclosed areas by the English speaker. It would seem that the speakers of even closely related languages like English and Afrikaans see the world in different ways.

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REMARKS ON PRONOMINAL REFERENCE AND DEFINITENESS IN FRENCH AND FINNISH

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1. This paper is part of a more extensive work in progress which deals with the referential and anaphoric relations which obtain between a full noun phrase and a pro-form referring to it. This particular aspect of the question of reference and anaphora had not been studied in French, nor in Finnish, until quite recently, and no complete treatment of the problem exists as of yet. Related questions which have been studied concern, for instance, the anaphoric relations between two full noun pharases, that is, between two full nominals, as in example (1a).[1]

(1a) Un producteur invita *Fritz Lang* à tourner un nouveau film. *Le réalisateur* accepta.

This problem has been discussed fairly often, recently by Milner (1982). This paper examines briefly the factors which may condition the establishment of a pronominal discourse referent after a nominal has first been introduced in discourse.[2]

Actually, a study of this type should not take only nominal antecedents and pronominal anaphors into consideration, since in actual discourse nominal and pronominal anaphors naturally alternate, sometimes in apperantly random order, as illustrated in (1b).

(1b) Un producteur invita *Fritz Lang* à tourner un nouveau folm. Ne retrouvant rien du Berlin qu'*il* avait connu, *le réalisateur* s'isola dans un hôtel où *il* écrivit son scénario. Solitaire et méconnu, *Lang* signa ainsi un film sans équivalent dans l'histoire du cinéma.

[1]The French examples have not been translated into English, since knowledge of French is crucial for an understanding of this paper. The Finnish examples have been translated into English when they do not correspond exactly to the French ones. The examples have been drastically simplified and presented without context for practical reasons.

[2]For Finnish, the present writer has drawn partly upon the unpublished dissertation of Vilkuna (1980). This work gives an overall picture of reference and definiteness in Finnish; to my knowledge no similar work exists on French.

It is impossible to take this kind of alternation into account here, and the discussion will be limited to apparently simpler cases of the type presented in (2) and (3).

(2a) Pierre a acheté *un roman* et il *l'*a lu tout de suite.

(2b) Pierre a acheté *deux romans* et il *en* a lu *un* toute de suite.

(3a) Pierre a acheté *un roman* et Jean *en* a également acheté *un*.

(3b) (?) Pierre a acheté *un roman policier*; Marie ne *les* aime pas du tout.

Here the antecedent is a nominal, and its determiner (when there is one) is generally an article, or sometimes a possessive adjective (cf. example (13) in section 5 below). Consideration of other determiners, particularly so-called 'indefinite' adjectives would only further complicate the issue.[1] The pronominal anaphor is a personal pronoun, and even here the other pronouns which may be used instead would change the picture considerably.[2] Even when limited in this way, the subject is too vast to be treated exhaustively in a short paper, especially wher two languages are concerned. The terminology will have to be taken for granted, since all the relevant terms cannot be discussed here (see, eg., Givón 1973, Jackendoff 1972, Karttunen 1976, Partee 1972, Stenning 1978). These are by no means uncontroversial, and many of them have been given somewhat different definitions, as for instance the pairs *specific/non-specific* and *definite/indefinite* . However, no particular theoretical approach or model will be proposed here, and no standpoint will be taken with respect to questions such as various treatments of pronominalization in current linguistic theory.

[1] The various members of the class of adjectives traditionally called 'indefinite' in French clearly behave differently with respect to specificity. Whereas *certain(s)* indicates specific *aucun* (mainly) non-specific reference quantifiers like *tout, tous, chaque, quelque(s), plusieurs* may allow both possibilities in different situations. Indefinite adjectives thus constitute a heterogenous and problematic class from our point of the view.

[2] Eg. relative pronouns do not always behave in the same way as personal pronouns. See (3c) and the following example, given by Chevalier et al. (1972), where the antecedent and the anaphor indicate different extensions (the question mark is mine):

?J'ai encore pris *du café au lait qui* était très bon. (A. Camus)

But it would be quite correct to say instead:

J'ai encore pris *du café au lait. Il* était très bon.

The differences in use between various types of pronouns would be worth investigating in this respect.

The two pairs of terms mentioned above, *specific/non-specific* and *definite/indefinite*, have not always been clearly distinguished from one another. The notions *definite/indefinite* will here be used in the same manner as these terms are used when we speak of the articles in languages such as English and French; that is, the terms refer to an overt, purely surface phenomenon. Thus, a definite description or noun phrase in French will be one preceded by the definite article; one determined by the indefinite article or the zero form will normally be called indefinite. (Even 3rd person pronouns can constitute definite descriptions, but they must generally have a full noun phrase as antecedent.) This type of description of the concept of definiteness may not always be completely satisfactory and may not apply to all cases (particularly when determiners other than articles are used, cf. footnote 1 on page 186) and it cannot, as such, be applied to Finnish. Finnish lacks, if not overt determiners in the general sense, at least the category of articles. (In this respect, French can be opposed to many other languages, since the use of the articles in that language is most often compulsory.)

In any case, definiteness must be distinguished from specificity. Specificity is the crucial notion or phenomenon from the point of view of discource reference, which is the central issue of this paper. Even if specificity is a somewhat controversial notion, for the present purpose it will probably be enough to say that a specific noun phrase, such as those underlined in (1), (2) and (3), implies at least temporarily the acceptance of the existence of the referent on the part of the speaker. This allows for us to speak, eg., of entities which we know do not exist in our world, like imaginary beings (cf. Hawkins 1978:199-200). On the other hand, the term non-specific is here used to refer, roughly speaking, to a noun which may either refer to any member of a certain class as in (16a) and (18a), or which does not seem to have any referent at all, as in (8a) or (17a) (see below). These 'distributive' and 'modal' uses of non-specific nouns can be subsumed under the denomination 'opaque'; these will be taken up later. Even a definite noun may be non-specific, if it does not refer to any particular individual or thing, as in (4).[1]

[1]According to Karttunen (1976:365) and Partee (1972:408), definite noun phrases carry an existential presupposition. However, this is not strictly speaking true in all cases, as (4) shows: the underlined NP may refer to a person whose existence is uncertain.

(4) Jean cherche *la plus belle fille du monde* (mais il ne sait pas du tout où *la* trouver).

2. Following Lauri Kettunen, who seems to have been the first to discuss the matter in his seminal paper first circulated at the end of the sixties (Karttunen 1976), we can say that a discourse referent is succesfully introduced and established if we can refer back to a noun with an anaphoric pronoun (or use another noun, as in (1a)) in the following sentences. Karttunen seems to restrict reference here only to coreference, that is, referential identity but there is no real need to do that. We can also refer back with a pronoun which shares sense only with a preceding noun, that is to say, one which does not have the same reference as the noun ('anaphora of sense', 'co-sense' and 'co-designation' are some of the terms used to qualify this relation). These two cases are illustrated in (2) and (3), repeated here for convenience.

(2a) Pierre a acheté *un roman* et il *l'*a lu tout de suite.

(2b) Pierre a acheté *deux romans* et il *en* a lu *un* tout de suite.

(3a) Pierre a acheté *un roman* et Jean *en* a également acheté *un*.

(3b) (?) Pierre a acheté *un roman policier*; Marie ne *les* aime pas du tout.

(2) shows coreference between the underlined phrases, and in (3) the underlined phrases do not refer to the same entities. Thus, pronouns can be roughly divided in two classes, those that indicate coreference with the antecedent, and those that share sense - or lexical reference, as Gross (1973) puts it - with the preceding noun phrase. It may be noted that a switch from lexical reference to coreference is possible, as shown in (5a) (also vice versa, see (5b)).

(5a) J'ai acheté *une moto*$_i$ et Marie *en* a également acheté *une*$_j$. *La mienne*$_i$ est rouge; *elle*$_i$ a deux grandes roues...

(5b) J'ai acheté *une moto*$_i$. *Elle*$_i$ a deux grandes roues. Marie *en* a également acheté *une*$_j$...

This justifies considering both types of references as equivalent in this context. Incidentally, the relationship between the two phrases may also be cataphoric, when it is the pronoun that precedes the noun, but it will not be taken up here (see (6)).

(6) Lorsqu'*il* fut arrivé à Berlin, *Fritz Lang* se mit à écrire le scénario de son nouveau film.

Both coreference and lexical reference can be either total or partial; (2a) and (3a) illustrate totality in both cases. (2b) shows partial coreference and (3b) partial lexical reference. We thus have different possibilities of referring to entities according to the extension of the concepts shown in the examples given above.

2. In general, it can be assumed that a discourse referent is established whenever a noun phrase is introduced in discourse (cf. eg. Jackendoff 1972:280, 286; Lyons 1977:189); that is, it is supposed that it can be referred to according to one of the referentialand anaphoric ralations exemplified in the preceding examples. However, there are cases in which the establishment of a discourse referent is impossible or where it is subject to particular constraints. This may be due to a variety of causes, which can be grammatical, semantic, stylistic or pragmatic in nature. In general, problems arise mainly with non-specific noun phrases (cf. also section 8 below). Now some of the major problematic cases will be discussed, while many others will be left out, eg. so-called generic sentences.[1]

Certain contexts have traditionally been considered in grammars of French as preventing the introduction of a discourse referent: a prominal anaphor could be considered here as an instance of syntactic or stylistic ill-formedness. These cases are illustrated in (7a) and (7b), which are literary examples given by French grammars (for more examples, see eg. Sandfeld 1965, § 26).(The asterisk and the question mark are here used only to indicate approximately that the sentences under discussion may be considered to be totally ungrammatical or of dubious grammatical status by native speakers, though not all of them would probably always agree with the judgements given here.)

[1] From our point of view, generic sentences do not generally pose particular problems, since they most often permit the establishment of a discourse referent. Exceptions seem to be marginal, as in the case of the incorrect dislocation exemplified in (20) (section 8). Dislocation would not be possible with a generic indefinite noun either:
* *Un roi, il* a toujours raison.
In colloquial French, however, it would be possible to use the demostrative pronoun *ça* as anaphor:
Un roi, ça toujours raison.

(7a) * Avez-vous *faim*? Moi j'en ai *une* dévorante.

(7b) ? Je viens vous demander *production et justice*, comme un fils pourrait *les* demander à son père.

In these examples, the underlined noun is not sufficiently determined in order to be referred to and thus allow the introduction of a discourse referent. In many cases, the noun in not a real noun phrase in the technical, transformational sense, which could be said to account for their dubious grammatical status. Here, too, it is possible, under certain conditions, to introduce a discourse referent, as shown in (7c), but in general the acceptability of sentences of this kind varies, and it appears difficult to give a precise overall account of the relation which obtains between the noun and the pronoun and of the acceptability conditions for this relation.

(7c) J'étais un homme sans *honneur*. Et tout d'un coup j'*en* ai eu *un*.

The same problem concerning the degrees of definiteness of the noun often arises with negation in French. The constituents which are within the scope of negation are most often indefinite, without overt determiners in French, and consequently they cannot be referred back to coreferentially, as in (8a).

(8a) Pierre n'a pas trouvé de $casserole_i$. * ourtant $elle_{i/j}$ se trouve sous la table.

The underlined noun phrase in the first sentence is thus non-specific. This does not, however, mean that its existence is necessarily denied; the verb *trouver* does not entail that the object concerned does not exist at all, rather, its existence is left undiscussed and uncertain. However, since its existence is not incontestably accepted, it cannot be referred back to.Yet, in these cases, negation may permit the introduction of a lexical referent, which shares sense with the noun, as in (8a').

(8a') Pierre n'a pas trouve de $casserole_i$. Pourtant il y *en* a une_j sous la table.

Furthermore, negation need not include an object noun in this scope in all cases, as (8b), where the underlined phrase is outside the scope of negation, and it thus permits the introduction of a coreferential or, for the matter, a noun-coreferential discourse referent, as in (8b').

(8b) Pierre n'a pas trouvé *la casserole*$_i$. Pourtant $elle_i$ se trove sous la table.

(8b') Pierre n'a pas trouvé *la casserole*$_i$. Pourtant il y *en* a une_j sous la table.

4. Since Finnish has no articles, many of the instances which are problematic in French do not pose similar problems in Finnish. The expressions formed by a verb and an undetermined noun, illustrated in (7), are a case in point. Their Finnish equivalents can in principle always be referred back to, since the nominal cannot be considered to be undetermined in Finnish. However, the choice between the various anaphoric forms may pose some problems; these will come up below in greater detail. Suffice it to say here that in many cases it would be most natural either to repeat the antecedent ot use the zero form, instead of using a prominal anaphor. Thus, the Finnish equivalents of (7a) would be (9a) and (9b) (cf. also (9c)):

(7a) *Avez-vous faim? Moi j'en ai une dêvotsnte.

(9a) Onko teillä *nälkä*? Minulla on valtava *nälkä*. [noun]

(9b) Onko teillä *nälkä*? Minulla on valtava ∅. [zero form]

(9c) *? Onko teillä *nälkä*? Minulla on valtava *sellainen/se*. [pronoun]

As we see from (9c), the use of prominal anaphors is practically excluded in this particular case. The situation is somewhat different, for instance, with the equivalents of (7c); here, the zero form cannot be used, since the context would not allow the recoverability of the antecedent.

(7c) J'êtais un homme sans *honneur*. Et tout d'un coup j'*en* ai eu *un*.

(10a) Olin mies vailla *kunniaa*. Mutta sitten sain äkkiä takaisin *kunnian*. [noun]

(10b) * Olin mies vailla *kunniaa*. Mutta sitten sain äkkiä takaisin ∅. [zero form]

(10c) ? Olin mies vailla *kunniaa*. Mutta sitten sain äkkiä takaisin *sellaisen/sen*. [pronoun]

As for examples of the type in (8a), the Finnish equivalents of the underlined nominals do not indicate at first sight whether the NP is determined or not, which means that in principle, without further knowledge of the context, the first sentence can be followed by the Finnish equivalent of the second sentence of either (8a) or (8a'). Thus, in Finnish the non-specific and specific first sentences of the French examples (8a) and (8b) can be collapsed into one sentence.

(11a) Pekka ei löydä *kattilaa*$_i$, vaikka *se*$_i$ on pöydän alla.

(11a') Pekka ei läytänyt *kattilaa*$_i$, vaikka *sellainen*$_j$ on pöydän alla.

Thus, if we choose (11a), we are speaking of a special kettle, but in (11a'), the relation between the two sentences is only one of sense anaphora. We can thus say that Finnish allows here the establishment of a discourse referent in all cases, contrary to French (this is also the situation with examples of the type in (9) and (10), although here there are restrictions on the choice of the anaphor, as we saw).

Vilkuna (1980) argues that definiteness is not a category or phenomenon of Finnish grammar, since there are no specific markers to indicate unequivocally whether a noun phrase is definite or indefinite. It may be worth noting that Vilkuna often considers whether a certain NP in Finnish should be translated into a language such as English by using a definite article or an indefinite one as a determiner. This is in fact a very natural way of proceeding if one wants to determine the importance and the extension of this much debated phenomenon of Finnish grammar.

Of course it is possible to bring out definiteness in Finnish by employing various devices which often have no parellel in French (see Chesterman 1977 for a survey). These devices include, eg., the use of different cases (see section 9 below), word order and subject and verb concord. The one coresponding most closely to the article system of French, at least formally, is the use of other determiners, especially indefinite adjectives. Indefinite adjectives like *eräs*, *yksi* and *muuan* are used to denote one particular entity, as in (12), and they thus express specificity, which in Finnish generally seems to overlap with definiteness (cf. also note 1 on page 186 about the use of indefinite adjectives as determiners in French). The forms *joku* and *jokin*, which refer to a person or a thing not known to the speaker, may allow both a specific reading, as in (12c), and a non-specific reading, as in (12d).

(12a) Pekka ei löytänyt kirjaa. [spec. / non-spec.]
'Peter did not find a/the/any book.'

(12b) Pekka ei löytänyt *eräs*tä/*yhtä*/*muatta* kirjaa. [spec.]
'Peter did not find a certain book.'

(12c) Pekka osti *jonkin* kirjan. [spec.]
'Peter bought some book (I do not know which one)'

(12d) Pekka haluaisi ostaa *jonkin* kirjan. [non.spec. / spec. ?]
'Peter would like to buy some book (perhaps any book will do)'.

The forms in (12c) and (12d) can thus be compared with the French indefinite article in its specific and non-specific uses, while the indefinites used in (12b) only correspond to the specific use of the French indefinite article. On the other hand, Finnish has no morphological markers which would correspond to the French definite article, unless the use of the unstressed demonstrative adjective *se* (roughly *this* or *that*) in the spoken language could be considered as such.

5. The French examples discussed in section 3 show that the antecedent must be determined in some way, syntactically or semantically, to allow for the establishment of a coreferential discourse referent. We can now say that anaphora of sense is much more easily used in French as a device of referring than is identity of reference. When coreference, whether total or partial, is strictly speaking not possible, the possibility does often exist of using a non-coreferential pronominal form which initiates an anaphoric chain. In French, however, there is no clear-cut division of pronominal forms into those indicating coreference and those indicating lexical reference. In other words, apart from the subject function, of which I will speak shortly, there is no particular pronoun which corresponds to a specific anaphoric function. To account for the various functions and relations, it would be necessary to tabulate the different forms that French pronouns take in various syntactic functions (subject, object, etc.). Here it will suffice to make the following observations: the subject pronouns *il(s)* and *elle(s)* serve only as coreferential subjects and they indicate total coreference, as in (8) (section 3). The same goes for the neuter subject pronoun *ce*; compare (16) below (section 7).[1] On the other hand, there is no pronominal subject form in French to indicate partial coreference or partial lexical reference, and it is necessary to have recourse to paraphrases (cf. (8a') and (8b')).

[1] The distribution of *ce* and *il* in this context should be investigated. Although the constraints on *ce* are stricter than those on *il* (*ils*, *elle(s)* as subject, *ce* can sometimes be used as anaphor where *il* is impossible. Compare:

(a) Je voudrais *une salade niçoise*. * *Elle* est délicieuse.
(b) Je voudrais *une salade niçoise*. C'est delicieux.

The sentence marked with an asterisk in the a-example is not possible as an immediate continuation uttered by the same person, but can be used as a reply by another person or as a later remark by the first speaker, since the pronouns *elle* here can only refer to a certain concrete portion and not to the dish in general.

This follows from the fact that *il* and *elle* cannot possibly refer to only one portion of the antecedent, nor can they indicate a referent which differs from their antecedent. This makes referent introduction in a subject prominal form somewhat problematic in French, whereas it is clearly easier to use the direct object forms. The clitic object pronoun *le* (*la, les*) usually serves to indicate total coreference, but it can also mark lexical reference; see (3b) (section 1) and (13) below. In the former, *les* refers to an entire category and has a generic function, and in the latter, *le* refers to a specific noun which denotes a referent differing from the antecedent.

(13) Pierre veut *son steak*$_i$ bien cuit et Jean *le*$_j$ veut à point.

The adverbial pronoun *en* alone or combined with various quantifiers (such as numerals, adverbs, indefinite pronouns, etc.) has a wide range of functions and it may indicate both coreference and lexical reference; consider (2) and (3), for instance.

6. Consideration of the anaphoric pronouns in Finnish indicates that Finnish does not, any more than French, maintain an absolutely clear-cut division between forms which indicate coreference and forms which indicate lexical reference. *Hän* is the pronoun used to refer to humans and *se* the one used to refer to non-humans or inanimate objects. The forms which these pronouns assume in different surface cases can be used to fulfill different functions in the sentence, such as subject, object, etc. The non-human pronoun *se* may indicate both coreference, as it generally does (see (14a)), and lexical reference, particularly in non-subject uses (see (14b)); compare with the uses of the French pronouns *le* and *en*, which may indicate both coreference and lexical reference, subject to certain restrictions. For lexical reference, however, we do have the particular demonstrative pronoun *sellainen*, which is not sensitive to the feature [± human] (examples (9c), (10c) and (14c)). *Se* and *sellainen* are often in complementary distribution, but their use as anaphors of sense is subject to various restrictions, and these forms are not always considered very acceptable as substitutes for a noun phrase (cf. the discussion about (9) and (10) in section 4).

(14a) Pekka osti *kirjan*$_i$ ja luki *sen*$_i$ heti.
' Peter bought a book and read it immediately.'

(14b) Pekka joi *maitoa*$_i$ ja Paavokin joi *sitä*$_{i,j}$.
'Peter drank milk and Paul drank it, too.'

(14c) Pekka osti *pianon*$_i$ ja Paavokin haluaisi *sellaisen*$_j$.
'Peter bought a piano and Paul would like to have one, too.'

One further device for indicating both coreference and anaphora of sense is the use of the zero form, as in (15a)- It corresponds to the French object forms *le* or *en*. Here, too, the choice between the zero form, a pronoun such as *se* or *sellainen*, and the repetition of the antecedent NP in a nominal form is subject to various constraints of an at least partially pragmatic nature. The distinction between coreference and anaphora of sense can be neutralized by using a construction with the particles *niin* ...*-kin*, as in (15b).

(15a) Pekka etsi *kirjaa*$_i$, mutta ei löytänyt $\emptyset_{i,j}$ /*sitä*$_i$ / *sellaista*$_j$.
'Peter was looking for a book but did not find ∅ / it / one'

(15b) Pekka joi *maitoa*$_i$ ja *niin* joi Paavokin$_{i,j}$.
'Peter drank milk and *so did* Paul.'

This corresponds closely to the English anaphoric *do so* construction, and it has no actual French equivalent. This construction can be used to fulfill various syntactic functions in the sentence.

7. It thus seems that, in both French and Finnish, most forms can indicate both coreference and lexical reference (though anaphors generally have a preference for one of the two uses), and few forms are restricted to indicating only one of the two anaphoric relations (these include the subject forms *il* and *hän*, which indicate only coreference). In French it is easier to create a discourse referent by using coreferential anaphora (this appears to be less clear in Finnish). There are many cases which can give rise to both kinds of anaphora in French; these are ambiguous sentences which appear generally in opaque context and have been widely discussed in current literature written in and on English (see the references at the end of the paper). Those complex problems cannot be entered here; they involve such things as various 'discourse worlds', which permit anaphors not allowed in non-modal contexts. The situation in French does not differ greatly from that in English. (15) and (17) will serve here as indications of the nature of the problem.

(16a) Je vois souvent *un chat* passer devant ma maison. *C'est le matou du voisin. NON-SPECIFIC

(16b) Je vois souvent *un chat* passer devant ma maison. C'est le matou du voisin. SPECIFIC

(17a) Nous voulons engager *une secrétaire*. *Elle* connait l'allemand NON-SPECIFIC

(17b) Nous voulons engager *une secrétaire*. *Elle* connait l'allemand. SPECIFIC

In both, the sentences labeled *a* give the non-specific reading, where the underlined NP either refers 'distributively' to more than one one referent (16a) or has no referent at all (17a). Therefore, under the non-specific interpretation, the first sentences in these examples cannot be continued with the sentences marked with an asterisk, which contain a specific pronoun. These examples illustrate the two non-specific cases, where the establishment of a coreferential discourse referent is impossible. (16b) and (17b) give the specific, strictly coreferential reading, which refers to only one entity. Theoretically the ambiguity of the first sentences in these examples could be prolonged in discourse over many sentences, by using forms that do not clearly reveal whether the referent is specific or non-specific; then it will be impossible to tell whether a specific discourse referent, referring to one entity, has been established or not.[1] On the other hand, potential ambiguity can be destroyed at the outset by using some appropriate lexical means; eg. in (18a), the substitution of the adverb *rarement* for *souvent* (cf. (16)) contributes to giving the non-specific interpretation, and the same goes for examples of the type of (18b), where the verbal phrase *avoir besoin* (as noted by Milner 1982) clearly allows only the non-specific reading. (This non-specific reading allows, as we can see from (18c), the use of a coreferential relative pronoun, but not a personal pronoun (18b); cf. foot note 2 on the page 186).

[1] As an example, we could imagine the following story:
Je vois souvent *une chat* passer devant ma maison. *Il* me regarde d'une façon attendrissante. Je *le* caresse et *il* se frotte contre mes jambes. Je *lui* donne parfois du lait...
In this 'story', the ambiguity subsists and we cannot know at this point whether there is only one cat or many.

(18a) Je vois rarement *un chat* passer devant ma maison.
(*C'est le matou du voisin.) NON-SPECIFIC

(18b) Nous avons besoin d'*une secrétaire*. (**Elle* connait l'allemand.)
NON-SPECIFIC

(18c) Nous avons besoin d'*une secrétaire qui* connait l'allemand.
NON-SPECIFIC

It would be interesting to investigate the use of different verbs and adverbs, for instance, which can greatly or completely modify the semantics of a sentence, but it would of course be an enormous, if not impossible, task to classify and analyze all the possible factors involved (temporal adverbs as in (16) and (18a), different verbs as in (8), (18b), etc.).

As to Finnish, we can simply note here that it does not differ from French in this resoect, since opaque environments seem to be more or less the same for different languages, and pronouns behave accordingly in Finnish as they do in French. In either language is it possible to tell at first sight whether the noun is specific or non-specific, be it preceded by the indefinite article as in French or undetermined as in Finnish.

8. The problem of ambiguous sentences, with two (or even more) readings, can now lead us to ask what the nominal and the pronoun must have in common in order to allow the establishment of an anaphoric relation. Here we might try to use some kind of semantic features, not necessarily in a very technical sense (cf. Channon 1980). In any case, it would be natural to suppose that the two phrases under discussion would have to share some features or components before an anaphoric relation could be established. Unfortunately, it seems that although features obviously serve to define the salient characteristics of noun phrases, they are not very useful when one tries to define the anaphoric relations between them. This might suggest that the problems here are more pragmatic than semantic in nature, though this controversial issue cannot be discussed here. The most important features in French in this respect would be *gender, number, quantity, humanity, definiteness*, and *specificity*. Partly on the basis of the preceding discussion, we can make the following observations concerning the importance of these six categories.

The phrases need not always have the same gender on the surface, since gender is neutralized in the forms *les* and *en*. The phrases need not necessarily have to indicate the same number (although number is nearly always indicated in the pro-form; only *en* alone as object may either be plural or indicate part of a grammatically singular, indiscrete quantity). Consider (3b), though in this case the relationship seems clearly to be a consequence of pragmatic or extralinguistic factors. The feature of quantity has been discussed above, since it is connected with total or partial reference, and it was noted that the two phrases need not represent the same quantity. It does not seem to be the case that this category should be divided in different subcategories in accordance with otherwise important distinctions such as count/mass, part/whole, discrete/indiscrete, etc. These distinctions do not probably play a role from our point of view. The feature of humanity [± human] plays a certain role; the pronouns *en* may refer to inanimate entities as well as to humans. In constrast to this, consider the awkwardness or even impossibility of referring to an object with the stressed form *lui* in examples like (19).

(19) *J'ai oublié *mon parapluie* chez Marie, et je suis rentré sans *lui*.

It is seen that none of the first four features, ie. gender, number, quantity and humanity, always plays a role in these anaphoric relations, although they often do. The most important features, if they can indeed be called features, are specificity and definiteness. Specificity is the primary one, since in general a non-specific noun cannot establish a discourse referent, whether it be definite or indefinite. It is mainly the combination of non-specificity and indefiniteness, as in (16a) and (17a) (indefinites appearing in an opaque context), that poses problems. (Cf. also (4) in section 1, a combination of definiteness and non-specificity). One particularity of French is the almost total impossibility of dislocating an indefinite, although specific noun phrase, as in (20).

(20a) *Un *vieil ami*, *il* est venu me voir hier.

(20b) *Un *vieil ami*, je l'ai rencontré hier.

In this particular case, it is the combination of specificity and indefiniteness that is problematic. Even if specific noun phrases can probably nearly always allow the use of some anaphoric pronoun, they do not permit any form whichever in all cases, as (20) shows (cf. also note 1 on page 189).

The discussion of French will be concluded simply by giving one more example where the nominal is clearly specific, though indefinite, but where it would be odd to refer to it with the coreferential subject pronoun *il*. The non-coreferential form with *en* and a quantifier, the numeral *un*, are used instead. The difficulty here, once again, is mainly pragmatic. Note the difficulty of introducing a prominal subject here too.

(21a) Qui a eu l'idée d'acheter *un couteau électrique*? *Il est dans la cuisine.*

(21b) Qui a eu l'idée d'acheter *un couteau électrique*? *Il y en a un* dans la cuisine.

9. We can make following observations about the feature approach in Finnish. The feature of gender does not exist in Finnish. The feature [± human] is more important in Finnish than it is in French, and in this respect Finnish pronouns can be compared with those of English (cf. the distinctions *hän* = *he*, *she* vs. *se* = *it*). The general observations which were made above about the features of number and quantity in French also apply to Finnish. Definiteness can be expressed optionally, as was seen, by using indefinite and demonstrative adjectives, and different types of reference can be brought out with the use of various prominal forms, as in French. The subject and object cases, that is to say the nominative, the accusative and the partitive also serve to distinguish between total and partial reference (a distinction often difficult to make in French), as well as between specificity and non-specificity. The use of these cases is frequently connected with variable word order, as in the other often quoted examples of the type given in (22).

(22a) *Avain*$_i$ ei ole pöydällä (*se*$_i$ on tuolilla). [nominative]
'The key is not on the table (it is on the chair).'

(22b) *Avaint*$_i$*a* ei ole pöydällä (eikä *sitä*$_i$ ehkä ole muualla-kaan). [partitive]
'There is no key on the table (and there may not be one elsewhere either).'

(22c) Pöydällä ei ole *avain*$_i$ (vaan jotain muuta/ *se$_i$ on tuolilla).
[nominative]
'On the table there is not the key (but there is something else / *it is on the chair).'

(22d) Pöydällä ei ole *avaint*a$_i$ (eikä ehkä mitään muutakaan / *eikä *sitä*$_i$ ole muuallakaan). [partitive]
'On the table there is no key (and perhaps nothing else either / *and there is not one elsewhere either).'

In (22a) and (22b), with the subject of the negated existential construction in the nominative or in the partitive and in a thematic position, the existence of the entity, the key, is presupposed;[1] it is implied that it is elsewhere, and not on the table. In (22c) and (22d), with inverted word order, but with the subject in the same [illegible] as in the preceding examples, the very existence of the key is uncertain, although it is not really denied. This would roughly correspond to the French negated examples of the type given in (8a). It may be worth noting that in such instances in Finnish it would be practically impossible to go on talking about this object if the sentence were to be continued; we expect to be told something about what there is on the table, and not about the whereabouts of the key.

[1] This may not be strictly speaking true, since (22b) implies that there may be no key whatsoever in the surroundings, but in any case a key has been the subject of a discussion. Thus (22a) and (22b) are not on a par with (22c) and (22d), where the topic is not a key, but the table, and nothing is presupposed about any key.

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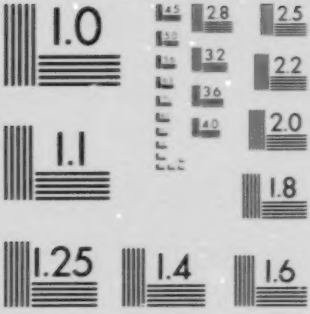

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EMPHASIS AND ELLIPSIS

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Sentence stress in English and Polish and its functions appear to be similar, in spite of the different relations of it to grammatical and thematic structures as expressed by word order. In the present paper I will concentrate on the textual nature and structure of emphatic stress giving examples mainly from English (to save time and space), as the description fits Polish as well.

1. (1) to (4) are examples of normal stress ((1), (2) in English, (3), (4) in Polish) and (5) to (14) are examples of emphatic stress (5) - (9) in English, (10) - (14) in Polish.

(1) John ate a SANDWICH.
(2) Bob caught a ROBBER on Friday.
(3) Janek zjadł KANAPKE.
(4) Bogdan złapał w piątek ZŁODZIEJA.
(5) JOHN ate a sandwich.
(6) John ATE a sandwich.
(7) BOB caught a robber on Friday.
(8) Bob CAUGHT a robber on Friday.
(9) Bob caught a robber on FRIDAY.
(10) JANEK zjadł kanapke.
(11) Janek ZJADŁ kanapke.
(12) BOGDAN złapał w piatek złodzieja.
(13) Bogdan ZŁAPAŁ w piatek złodzieja.
(14) Bogdan złapał złodzieja w PIĄTEK.

The thematic structure in terms of given/new information distribution is quite clear in the first four examples, since stress position coincides with other signals marking new information: the indefinite article in the English examples; sentence final position in the Polish examples.

Examples (5) to (14) are treated as emphatic in the sense that the stress is not placed on obviously new information (ie. on referentially

new information).

One of the questions that arise in connection with emphasis is a relevance of a distinction between positive emphasis (Jespersen's (1933) emphatic assertion, Enkvist's (1980) emphatic focus) and negative emphasis (also called contrastive or corrective focus, eg. Enkvist 1980). The distinction seems to be dependent on the context. The same sentence (15)

(15) JOHN did it.

is positively emphatic if preceded by (16)

(16) John caught a ROBBER yesterday.

but negatively emphatic (contrastive) if preceded by (17).

(17) Mike caught a ROBBER yesterday.

It seems, however, that sentences like (15), even in the context of (16) are used as replies to a supposedly negative attitude of the interlocutor, an answer to possible doubts about John's ability to catch a robber. The full text could then be reconstructed as follows:

A. (16) John caught a ROBBER yesterday.
B. (18) I think it was MIKE.
C. (15) JOHN did it.

In what follows I will discuss negative (contrastive) emphasis assuming that 'positive' emphasis is derivable from negative form. In order to connect emphasis with negation, a brief description of some relevant aspects of negation is appropriate.

2. As has become clear in a number of works (eg. Karttunen 1979, Givon 1975, Jackendoff 1972, Kawinska 1980) negative sentences differ from affirmative ones, among others, in that they are not able to establish reference, ie. to introduce an object which would then be used as a point of reference (antecedent) in the sequence sentence. Karttunen's (1969) example demonstrates this very clearly:

(19) John didn't manage to find an apartment.
(20) The apartment has a balcony.

Obviously the two sentences do not constitute a text because *the apartment* in (20) refers to an object whose existence has not been established in (19).

The inability of negative sentences to establish reference means also that negative sentences are natural sequence sentences. This observation is in accord with Givon's (1975) conclusion as to the more marked status of negative sentences, as their occurrence excludes the interpretation of text initial position.

Another relevant difference between affirmative and negative sentences is the phenomenon described by Jackendoff (1972) as negation association with focus. Briefly, negation associates with the item or phrase under the sentence stress. The following are examples of the phenomenon:

(21) John didn't catch a fish YESTERDAY.
(22) John didn't catch a FISH yesterday.
(23) John didn't CATCH a fish yesterday.
(24) JOHN didn't catch a fish yesterday.

All these examples have a general formula

(25) It is not X that...

that is

(26) It was not YESTERDAY that John caught a fish.
(27) It was not a FISH that John caught yesterday.
(28) It was not CATCH (a fish) that John did (to a fish) yesterday.
(29) It was not JOHN that caught a fish yesterday.

In all these examples the segment *not X* is new information. Assuming that the negated element X is a repetition from the preceding sentence, the whole sequence with (21) could read as follows:

A. (30) John caught a FISH yesterday.
B. (21) John didn't catch a fish YESTERDAY.

Sentences (21) through (25) seem to be incomplete. What seems to be missing is an affirmative continuation. Thus they should, it seems, be followed by

(31) ...but on FRIDAY.
(32) ...but a LOBSTER.
(33) ...but ATE a fish.
(34) ...but MIKE did.

Thus the complete form of (21) to (24) (also (26) to (29)) should

read as follows

(35) John didn't catch a fish YESTERDAY. John caught a fish on FRIDAY.

(36) John didn't catch a FISH yesterday. John caught a LOBSTER yesterday.

(37) John didn't CATCH a fish yesterday. John ATE a fish yesterday.

(38) JOHN didn't catch a fish yesterday. MIKE caught a fish yesterday.

To save time and space I will give only one Polish example simply to show that negation in Polish behaves in the same way as in English as far as negation association with focus is concerned.

(39) Bogdan nie złapał złodzieja w PIĄTEK.
(Bob did not catch a robber on FRIDAY.)

(40) ...ale w ŚRODĘ.
(...but on WEDNESDAY.)

(41) Bogdan nie złapał złodzieja w PIĄTEK. Bogdan złapał złodzieja w ŚRODĘ.

The only difference is that Polish requires the stressed element in sentence final position. Hence the change of word order in final positions in

(42) Bogdan nie złapał w piątek ZŁODZIEJA (ale JANKA).

3. The sequence sentences in examples (35) to (38) have identical function in that they provide the correct statement that follows a denial of earlier information. One sequence sentence, in (36), is different in that in a different context, as an opening sentence, it does not have a contrastive interpretation. The other sequence sentences, in (35), (37) and (38), when considered in isolation imply denial of information in the previous sentence. On the surface the sequence may take on various shapes:

(43) John didn't catch a fish YESTERDAY. He caught a fish on FRIDAY.

(44) John didn't catch a fish YESTERDAY, but on FRIDAY.

(45) It wasn't YESTERDAY that John caught a fish, but on FRIDAY.

(46) John caught a fish on FRIDAY, not YESTERDAY.

The common underlying structure seems to be a sequence of the following sentences:

S_1 - an opening affirmative sentence,
S_2 - a negative sentence (negating an element in S_1),
S_3 - an affirmative emphatic sentence S_3 (correcting sentence S_1).

Very often ellipsis of the negative sentence S_2 results in a text consisting of an affirmative sentence followed by another affirmative but emphatic sentence.

4. Some descriptions of focus account for different functions marked focus as if they had different meanings (ie. different underlying structures). Enkvist distinguishes between 'corrective' focus, 'emphatic' focus and marked information focus. For example, 'corrective' focus is described as a phenomenon whose job is "to set right a poorly transmitted or wrongly received part of a message. Therefore corrective focus can fall on any item, such as a form - word (preposition, article, conjunction) or even an individual syllable of a word: *I said DEfensive, not OFfensive*". (Enkvist 1980:135). The example has exactly the same structure as the examples discussed in section 3 above, ie. involving an opening affirmative sentence, negation and emphasis.

No examples are given of emphatic focus which is described as existing "to signal, not the difference between shared and new information but rather the relative weight that a speaker wants to attach to a particular element in the speech stream. Emphatic focus might thus be glossed as subjective speaker - oriented emphasis" (Enkvist 1980:135). But relative weight implies existence of two elements (weight of one element relative to another) which again implies negation of one in favour of the other.

It seems that all other examples in Enkvist's (1980) paper are interpretable in a similar way as the description of, for example, *John ATE a sandwich* shows. Enkvist writes "that *ate* was selected from among all those verbs that express things John could, in the given discoursal context, plausibly have done to the sandwich (*looked at, sniffed at, contemplated*, etc.)". That means that all those verbs were rejected (negated). This argument, however, does not seem to be adequate. As I wrote in 1976 (Szwedek 1976), sentences with normal stress can be interpreted in exactly the same (contrastive) way, in that any occurrence of an element excludes all other elements of the set, in a way putting the selected element in opposition/contrast to all others.

Thus, if we utter

(47) He bought a book yesterday.

he is contrastive in that it means: not *I, you, John,* etc., *bought* is contrastive in that it means: not *sold, wrote,* etc. even if these items are not stressed. Rather we should adopt Chafe's point of view that contrast is a selection from a limited number of possibilities, "alternative possibilities previously considered by the addressee" (Chafe 1974:117). Thus the two basic conditions for emphasis are context dependence (possibilities *previously considered by the addressee*) and connected with it, the limited number of the possibilities (limited by previous context).

It also has to be noted that with emphatic focus all other given/new information relations are suspended, as in the following:

(48) A. John ate a FISH yesterday.
B. No! John didn't EAT a fish yesterday, John CAUGHT a fish yesterday.

where the new information in (48) A (*a fish*) does not become given (*the fish, it*) until all other elements of the initial sentence are corrected.

5. Given a sequence

Speaker I : A - X - B
Speaker II : A - not $\acute{X}$ - B. A - $\acute{Y}$ - B.

where X and Y are elements of the same set, we can try to formulate a relation between the structure and emphatic stress. According to Jackendoff's (1972) rule of negation association with focus, the element X in *not X* gets the sentence stress. A rule of emphatic stress placement could instruct then that Y gets an emphatic stress if it replaces X in a given structure containing *not X*. Then another rule would have to account for the deletion of the *not X* sentence. Thus the full sequence of changes would be as follows (assuming that the sentence stress placement in text initial sentence is carried out according to the rules governing the thematic (given/new) structure):

I : A - X - B.
II : 1. A - NOT X - B. A - Y - B
2. A - NOT $\acute{X}$ - B. A - $\acute{Y}$ - B
3. A - $\acute{Y}$ - B.

In 1972 Bolinger wrote a paper entitled "Accent is predictable (if you are a mind-reader)". It has to be emphasized that accent stress is not different from other linguistic elements (for example lexical items) and therefore does not lend itself to predictability but to description.

6. By way of concluding let me repeat some of crucial observations:

(a) Negation and emphasis are similar in that they always appear in sequence sentences.

(b) Therefore they do not establish reference.

(c) Negation and emphasis, in that order, form a textual unit.

(d) Negation and emphasis are part of a larger unit whose general form is as follows:

S_1 - an initial sentence (introducting new information),

S_2 - negation of an element of the initial sentence,

S_3 - emphatic sentence introducing an element in the place of the element negated in S_2.

(e) Emphasis signals selection from a limited number of possibilities as defined by the preceding context.

(f) The only difference observed between English and Polish examples with emphasis is that emphasis in Polish is accompanied by a movement of the stressed item to the end of the sentence.

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THE OBJECT IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH ACCORDING TO DEPENDENCY GRAMMAR: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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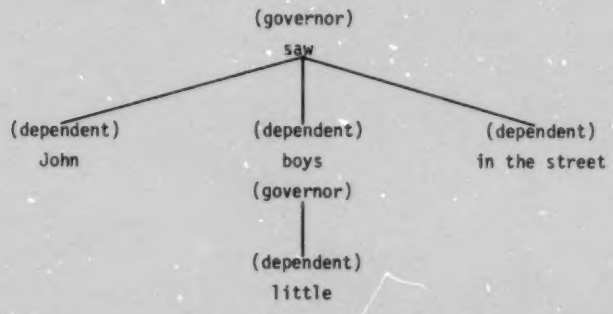
1. The Principles of Dependency Grammar

1.1. Dependency grammar deals with dependency relations between the elements of the sentence. Its aim is to find the governing parts of the sentence and their dependent elements. In addition, dependency grammar tries to define as explicitly as possible, the parts of the sentence by means of linguistic operations.

1.2. According to dependency grammar, in a sentence there are elements that govern other elements. These governing parts belong to different ranks and are called 'governors'. They have subordinate elements called 'dependents'. Thus the sentence is considered to be a hierarchical structure which consists of governors and dependents of different ranks. The highest governor is the verb, which is the structural centre of the sentence. In the sentence *John saw little boys in the street* the central governor is the verb *saw*, whose dependents are *John*, *boys* and *in the street*. The word *boys* is, however, a governor too: it governs the adjective *little* as its dependent. The hierarchical structure of the sentence can be shown by its dependency tree:



1.3. All dependents are not equally important to the sentence. The dependents of the verb are the most important, but also among them there are elements which are of different importance to the structure of the sentence: there are obligatory elements (*John* and *boys*) as well as optional ones (*in the street*). The verb *saw* requires two dependents for its complementation: 'who' saw {*John*} and 'whom' he saw {*boys*}. The valence of the verb *to see* is two {*to see*$_2$}; the subject *John* and the object *boys* are valence complements or 'actants' of the verb *to see*.

1.4. In addition to the actants *John* and *boys* there is one more element which is connected with the verb in the above sentence: the adverbial *in the street*. It is not required for the complementation of the verb *to see* and does not depend on the valence of the verb. It is called 'a free adjunct', a free adverbial. It is actually an independent predication for the whole sentence. It expresses where the seeing of the boys takes place or where the boys are: *He saw boys. It happened in the street* (or *They were in the street*). The free adverbial does not depend on any single verb but on a whole class of verbs, i.e. it can occur with verbs of different valences:

It is raining *today* (rain$_1$).
I saw him *today* (see$_2$).
I asked him his name *today* (ask$_3$).

There are, however, also adverbials which are not free adjuncts but valence adverbials required by the verbs:

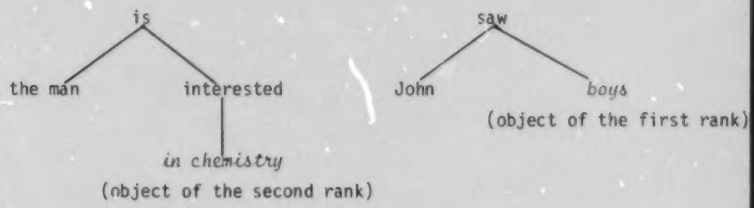
I live *in London*.

1.5. In the sentence *John saw little boys in the street* there is one word which has not yet been dealt with: *little*. As the dependency tree shows, it is not dependent on the verb but on a noun (*little boys*). It is a dependent of a lower rank, whose importance to the structure of the whole sentence is insignificant. It only qualifies a single part of the sentence as a free modifier (attribute). It is a part of a part of the sentence.

1.6. The most important governor in the sentence is the verb, which is its structural center. But there can also be other governing elements which are of importance to the structure of the sentence. One of them is a predicative adjective. The predicative adjective can have a valence of

its own and have actants depending on it: *The man is interested in chemistry* (the adjective *interested* has *in chemistry* as its valence complement or actant). This actant of the adjective is called an object of the adjective. Thus according to dependency grammar, there are, in addition to the objects of the verb (*John saw boys*), also objects of the predicative adjective (*The man is interested in chemistry*).

The actants of the predicative adjective may be called 'second rank parts of the sentence' (the dependents of the verb represent the first rank). This can be shown by the dependency tree of the above sentences:



The first rank parts of the sentence differ from the second rank ones in that they depend on the verb, whereas the second rank parts of the sentence are dependent on an actant of the verb, e.g. on a predicative adjective. Thus the object of a predicative adjective is an object of the second rank, whereas the object of the verb is an object of the first rank.

2. The Object of the Verb

2.1. The Object System of Germ&n

2.1.1. The dependency grammar of German defines the object of a verb as follows: The object of the verb is a non-nominative actant whose form is determined by the verb and whose pro-form is a pronoun.

2.1.2. The case form of the object can be accusative, dative or genitive (these three objects are called 'case objects' of German in this paper):

Accusative: Mein Bruder schreibt *einen Brief* / *ihn*
(schreiben + accusative)

Dative: Mein Bruder hilft *seinem Freund* / *ihm*
(helfen + dative)

Genitive: Mein Bruder gedachte *des Verstorbenen* / *seiner*
(gedenken + genitive)

2.1.3. The nominal required by the verb can also take the form of a preposition + case. There are some 15 prepositions determined by the verbs. The case of the noun is dependent on the preposition, only in the case of *an*, *auf*, *in* and *über* can there be two cases, accusative or dative, depending on the verb.

an + accusative:	Ich dachte *an meine Mutter* / *an sie*.
an + dative:	Er schreibt *an einem Roman* / *daran*.
auf + accusative:	Er wartete *auf seinen Freund* / *auf ihn*.
auf + dative:	Das beruhte *auf einem Irrtum* / *darauf*.
aus:	Der Roman besteht *aus drei Teilen* / *daraus*.
bei:	Ich bleibe *bei meiner Meinung* / *dabei*.
für:	Ich interessiere mich *für moderne Malerei* / *dafür*.
gegen:	Er wehrte sich *gegen die Vorwürfe* / *dagegen*.
in + accusative:	Er hat sich *in das Mädchen* verliebt / *in sie*.
mit:	Mein Bruder begann *mit dem Vortrag* / *damit*.
nach:	Er fragte *nach dem Weg* / *danach*.
über + accusative:	Sie freut sich *über ihren Erfolg* / *darüber*.
über + dative:	Ich grübelte *über der Lösung* der Aufgabe / *darüber*.
um:	Mein Bruder sorgt sich *um die Zukunft* / *darum*.
von:	Wir sprechen *von dem Buch* / *davon*.
vor:	Er fürchtet sich *vor der Prüfung* / *davor*.
zu:	Ich gehöre *zu seinen Anhängern* / *zu ihnen*.

The prepositional phrase is called a prepositional object and the preposition is regarded as a part of the object, not as a part of the verb (English grammar usually regards, for instance, *at* after the verb *to look* as a part of the verb and speaks about a prepositional verb: *to look at*).

2.1.4. In German a prepositional phrase can also be an adverbial. Therefore it is important to distinguish the prepositional object from the prepositional adverbial. For this purpose, linguistic operations are used, above all substitution and pronominalization. When substitution is used, the original prepositional phrase is replaced by other prepositional phrases. When pronominalization is used, a prepositional phrase is replaced by a pro-form: a pronoun preceded by a preposition (e.g. *an ihn/sie*), a pronominal adverb (*daran*, *danach*, etc.), or an adverb (e.g. *dort*, *dann*). As an example two sentences are given which resemble each other morphologically. In the first, the prepositional phrase is an object, in the second, an adverbial:

Er denkt *an den Rhein* (object).
Er fährt *an den Rhein* (adverbial).

By substituting the prepositional phrase by other prepositional phrases and replacing the prepositional noun by a prepositional pronoun (pronominal adverb) and an adverb, we get the following paradigms:

Er denkt an den Rhein (object) -	Er fährt an den Rhein (adverbial).
*zum Rhein	zum Rhein
*nach Deutschland	nach Deutschland
an Deutschland	*an Deutschland
*in die Stadt	in die Stadt
daran	*daran
*dorthin	dorthin

After *denken* the preposition is always *an*, i.e. it is determined by the verb and is not influenced by the nouns. After *fahren* the preposition varies and depends primarily on the noun (*an* den Rhein; *in* die Stadt; *nach* Deutschland). The pro-form of *an den Rhein* is the pronominal adverb *daran* after *denken*, the adverb *dorthin* after *fahren*. Thus the prepositional adverbial is a part of the sentence whose preposition primarily depends on the noun and whose pro-form is an adverb, whereas the prepositional object is an actant whose preposition is determined only by the verb and whose pro-form is a prepositional pronoun (a pronominal adverb).

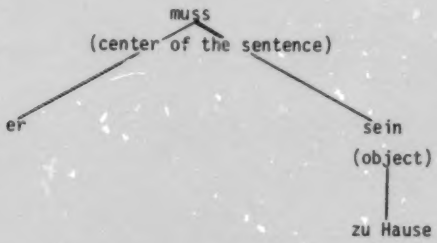
2.1.5. The form of the complementation determined by the verb can also be an infinitive, which is called an infinitive object in German grammars. The infinitive object is an infinitive with or without the particle *zu*:

Mein Bruder muss *gehen*.
Mein Bruder weigerte sich *zu kommen*.

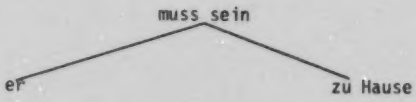
2.1.6. In case of the modal verb it must be decided what is the verbal center of the sentence: Is it the modal or the modal + infinitive? The German sentence *Er muss jetzt zu Hause sein* can be analysed in two ways:

(1) 'He is obliged to be at home'.
(2) 'He is surely at home'.

In the first case I would like to call *müssen* a lexical verb, for it has a meaning of its own: 'to be obliged'. It says something about the subject: *Er muss ('is obliged') - sein.* The modal has a valence of its own. The structural center of the sentence is *muss* - the infinitive is an object. This is shown by the dependency tree of the sentence:



In the second case the verb *müssen* has no lexical meaning of its own. It does not say anything about the subject, it only expresses the speaker's attitude to what he is saying. The modal has a grammatical function only. The combination 'modal + infinitive' can be called an analytic mood expressing potentiality: 'probably, surely'. The modal and the infinitive together form the 'verb', the structural center of the sentence - as the dependency tree shows - and the infinitive is not an object, but a part of the verb:



If the infinitive after a modal verb is an object, it can be replaced by the pronominal pro-form *es*:

Darf er kommen? Er darf *es*.

If the infinitive is a part of the verb, pronominalization with *es* is not possible:

Dürfte er jetzt zu Hause sein? *Er dürfte es.

2.1.7. After modal verbs and some other verbs (e.g. *sich weigern*) the infinitive is the only object. In most cases the infinitive replaces the noun object:

Die Mutter begann zu *arbeiten / die Arbeit.*
Die Mutter fängt an, *das Geschirr abzutrocknen / damit.*

The infinitive can be preceded by the pronoun *es* (in the case of an accusative object) or a pronominal adverb (in the case of a prepositional object) referring to it. This pro-form or antecedent can be obligatory or optional:

Wir lehnen es ab, *ihm nochmals Geld zu leihen.*
Er behauptet (es), *mich zu lieben.*
Ich denke *daran, in die Stadt zu gehen.*
Warum bemühst du dich nicht (*darum*), *Arbeit zu finden.*

The infinitive object could perhaps be called a non-finite clause object. In German the infinitive clause usually has no subject of its own (the subject of the verb is also the subject of the infinitive). After the verbs *sehen, hören, fühlen, spüren* and *lassen* the infinitive without *zu* has normally a subject of its own:

Ich sehe *ihn kommen.*
Ich lasse *den Gast eintreten.*

2.1.8. In addition to the noun objects and the infinitive object there can also be a finite clause object in a German sentence (e.g. *dass*-clause or a dependent interrogative clause):

Er antwortete, *dass er nicht komme.*
Er fragte, *ob ich komme / wer komme.*

The finite clause object normally replaces a noun object, i.e. a case object (accusative, genitive, dative) or a prepositional object:

Ich sehe, *dass er kommt.*
(accusative: Ich sehe *ihn.*)

Der Boxer rühmt sich, *dass er unschlagbar sei.*
(genitive: Er rühmt sich *seines Erfolges.*)

Karl hilft, *wem er kann.*
(dative: Karl hilft *seinem Freund.*)

Er fragt, *ob der Mantel fertig ist.*
(prepositional object: Er fragt *nach dem Weg.*)

Like the infinitive object the clause object can be preceded by a

pro-form or an antecedent (*es* or a pronominal adverb):

Ich bewundere es, *dass du ihm hilfst.*
Er bestreitet (es), *dass er den Mann kennt.*
Er fragte (*danach*), *ob er reisen soll.*

2.1.9. There can also be two objects in a German sentence:

Er gab *dem Jungen ein Buch* (dative + accusative).
Er lehrte *mich Französisch* (accusative + accusative).
Er beschuldigte *den Jungen des Diebstahls* (accusative + genitive).
Er erinnerte *den Jungen an sein Versprechen* (accusative + prep.).
Er erzählte *dem Jungen über den Vorfall* (dative + prep.).
Er bittet *seinen Vater, ihm zu helfen* (accusative + infinitive).
Ich empfehle *dir, den neuen Film anzusehen* (dative + infinitive).
Er fragte *mich, ob ich komme* (accusative + finite clause).
Er antwortete *mir, dass er komme* (dative + finite clause).
Ich habe *zu dir* gesagt, *dass ich in Urlaub fahre* (prep. + finite clause)
Er rächte sich *an ihm für diese Schmach* (double prep. object).

The most common type of two objects is the combination 'dative + accusative'. The dative can be called an indirect, the accusative a direct object (Er gab *dem Jungen ein Buch*). The accusative can be an indirect object too, but this combination (accusative + accusative: Er lehrte *mich Französisch*) is very rare.

2.2. The Object System of English in Comparison with German

2.2.1. In English the non-prepositional object, which is called the 'case object' of English in this paper, has one form only, the basic form of the noun (some pronouns have a special form for the object, e.g. *I - me*). There is no difference in form between the direct and the indirect object:

He wrote *a letter.*
He gave *the boy a book.*
(cf. German: Er gab *dem Jungen ein Buch*).

This object could perhaps be called an accusative object, in accordance to some grammars of English, at least in the case of the personal and some

other pronouns:

He saw *me*.
He gave *me* a book.

Some English grammars call the indirect object a dative object (Curme 1931: 103).

The English case object, or accusative object, can correspond to all three case objects of German:

My brother wrote *a letter*.
Mein Bruder schrieb *einen Brief* (accusative).
My brother helped *his friend*.
Mein Bruder half *seinem Freund* (dative).
My brother remembered *the deceased*.
Mein Bruder gedachte *der Verstorbenen* (genitive).

It can, however, also correspond to a German prepositional object:

He asked *my name*.
Er fragte *nach meinem Namen*.

2.2.2. Grammars of English also speak about the prepositional object, but the preposition is usually regarded as a part of the verb. Thus the term 'prepositional object' is actually a shorter term for an 'object after a prepositional verb'. According to this interpretation, there is only one type of noun object in English, which either occurs after a 'normal' verb (He saw *the girl*) or a prepositional verb (He looked at *the girl*). If the preposition is not regarded as a part of the verb, the prepositional phrase often has the status of an adverbial. "A sentence like *He looked at the girl* can be given two analyses. In one, there is a prepositional phrase (*at the girl*) as an adverbial; in the other, *looked at* is a prepositional verb with *girl* as a prepositional object. (We will use the shorter term 'prepositional object' for what should properly be called 'object after a prepositional verb')" (Quirk et al. 1972: 818). A third interpretation could be to regard the prepositional phrase (*at the girl*) as an object and the preposition as a part of it (as in German). This analysis occurs in some older grammars: "Preposition and noun together form a prepositional object that serves as an object of a verb..., i.e. serves to complete the meaning of the verb..." (Curme 1931:112). This interpretation would be much better than calling the

prepositional phrase an adverbial, because this prepositional phrase has nothing to do with a real adverbial, except in that a preposition occurs in it.

2.2.3. In my opinion, the object and adverbial in English could be defined in the same way as in German: the object is a valence complement or an actant of the verb whose form (basic form; prepositional form, etc.) is determined by the verb and whose pro-form in the case of a nominal phrase is a pronoun, whereas the adverbial is an adverb or a nominal phrase whose form (e.g. the preposition) varies and is primarily determined by the noun and whose pro-form is an adverb:

He looked *at the girl* / *at her* (object).
at the book / *at it*.
(the preposition is always *at*).

He lived *at the seaside* / *there* (adverbial).
in the town / *there*.
(the preposition varies).

The object is primarily a formal category, which has a meaning only in a sentence. It cannot be clearly defined semantically, for there can be different deep cases underneath an object. The adverbial is a clear semantic category (place, time, manner, cause, etc.) and can also be understood alone without a context: *in London*, *today*, etc. That is why it is not appropriate to regard *at the girl* in the sentence *He looked at the girl* as an adverbial; it cannot be understood without a context, the preposition is merely syntactic without a clearly definable meaning (cf. *in* London; *on* the table). In the same way, I would like to consider *to the girl* in the sentence *I gave an apple to the girl* a prepositional object with the preposition as a part of it (indirect object), not a prepositional adverbial (Quirk et al. 1972: 819). Thus the indirect object would have parallel forms, a non-prepositional and a prepositional form:

He gave *the girl* an apple.
He gave an apple *to the girl*.

The object is always a valence complement or an actant, the adverbial can be an actant or a free adjunct:

He lives *in London* (actant).
I saw him *in London* (free adjunct).

2.2.4. One reason for considering the preposition as a part of the object is that many of the 'prepositional verbs' can also occur without the preposition:

I listened *to him*.
but: We listened but we heard nothing.

If a prepositional phrase is replaced by a *that*-clause, the preposition is always omitted:

Let us hope *for the best*.
but: I hope that you haven't hurt yourself.

According to Quirk et al. (1972: 812), "the... prepositional particle forms a semantic and syntactic unit with the verb". If the prepositional phrase can be left out, the preposition cannot be a semantic component of the verb (e.g. *listen, hope*) but a syntactic element to connect the verb with the noun phrase. I also regard it as a purely syntactic element and as a part of the object if the verb has only one preposition (*depend* + *on*-object). If the verb can be connected with more than one preposition (*look at/after/on/for/into*), the preposition could be considered a part of the verb, because the different meanings of the verb are really brought about by the different prepositions.

It must also be remembered that in some transformations the preposition is separated from the noun and remains at the end of the sentence:

What did John *look for*?
The boy was *looked at*.

This is not possible in German. The cohesion between the verb and the preposition seems to be stronger in English than in German.

Thus there seem to be three ways to analyse a 'prepositional verb' in English:

(1) The preposition is always regarded as a part of the verb and the verb + preposition as a prepositional verb.

(2) The preposition is always considered a part of the object.

(3) In some cases the preposition is a part of the verb (*look for/after* etc.), in other cases a part of the object (*listen* + *to*-object; *depend* + *on*-object).

In my opinion the best of these three analyses is to regard the preposition always as a part of the noun phrase, the object. In no cases do I regard the prepositional phrase after a 'prepositional verb' as an adverbial, because this prepositional phrase has nothing in common (e.g. semantically and operationally) with a real prepositional adverbial, except that the preposition occurs in both.

2.2.5. There are also phrasal verbs in English. In the sentence *John called up the man* there is a phrasal verb (*call up*), whereas in the sentence *John called on the man* there is a 'prepositional verb'. The particle of the phrasal verb cannot be regarded as a part of the object. "A syntactic difference is that the particle of a phrasal verb can often stand either before or after a noun, whereas it can only stand after a personal pronoun: *call up the man, call the man up, call him up*, but not **call up him*" (Quirk et al. 1972: 815). In the case of the 'prepositional verb' the preposition must always precede the noun or pronoun: **They call the man on; *They call him on.*

There are phrasal verbs of some kind in German too: *zuhören, ansehen*, etc. (Ich *hörte* ihm *zu*; Ich *sah* ihn *an*). These particles are always regarded as parts of the verb.

In English there are also 'phrasal-prepositional verbs' (Quirk et al. 1972: 817):

The children are *looking forward to the holidays.*

The phrasal particle (*forward*) must be regarded as a part of the verb, whereas the preposition (*to*) can be considered a part of the object.

There are some 15 prepositions occurring as a part of a prepositional object in German. The case depending on the preposition is either accusative or dative (or both). In English the number of the prepositions seems to be nearly the same as in German, but there is only one 'case' occurring after the preposition:

about: We spoke *about the matter.*
after: Will you look *after this matter?*
against: The people revolted *against their rulers.*
at: I looked *at the girl.*
for: The farmers are praying *for rain.*
from: English differs *from German* in having no gender for nouns.
in: Do you believe *in God?*
into: We must inquire *into the matter.*
of: Think *of the expenses!*
on: Italy depends *on foreign countries* for oil.
to: Don't listen *to him.*
upon: I called *upon him* yesterday.
with: He doesen't like to part *with his money.*

Comparison of the English 'prepositional verbs' with their counterparts in German indicates that the prepositional object of English corresponds to several groups of the object in German:

(1) The equivalent of the English prepositional object is a German prepositional object:

We spoke *about (of) the matter.*
Wir sprachen *von der Sache.*

Do you believe *in God?*
Glaubst du *an Gott?*

Think *of the expenses.*
Denke *an die Kosten.*

How much did you pay *for the house?*
Wieviel hast du *für das Haus* bezahlt?

In some cases the prepositions corresponding to each other are etymologically and/or semantically alike (*pay for - (be)zahlen für; speak of - sprechen von*). In most cases they have, however, different origins and different meanings (*believe in - glauben an; think of - denken an*).

(2) The German equivalent of an English prepositional object can be a case object:

(a) Accusative:

I looked *at the girl.*

Ich sah *das Mädchen* an.

(b) Dative:

I listened *to him*.
Ich hörte *ihm* zu.

(c) Genitive:

I'll look *after this matter*.
Ich werde mich *dieser Sache* annehmen.

2.2.7. As in German there are non-finite objects in English, usually termed non-finite clause objects (Quirk et al. 1972: 814):

(1) He likes *to talk*.
(2) He likes *talking*.
(3) He wants *her to come*.
(4) He saw *her come*.
(5) He saw *her coming*.
(6) He found *the seats taken*.

Of these six constructions only (1), (4) and (6) have structural equivalents in German:

(1) Er beschliesst *zu kommen*.
(4) Ich sah *ihn kommen*.
(6) Ich weiss *ihn versorgt*.

The *-ing* -objects have no counterpart in German. Also a *zu* -infinitive with a subject (cf. He wants *her to come*) is impossible in German.

The non-finite clause objects normally replace the case object:

I saw *her come / her coming*.
I saw *her*.

The *-ing* -object can, however, also replace a prepositional object:

He objected *to meeting her*.

The *-ing* -object can be preceded by a preposition, the infinitive object cannot. In German the infinitive object can be preceded by a pronominal adverb:

Ich denke *daran, in die Stadt zu gehen*.

2.2.8. The infinitive after the modal verbs can be added to the infinitive objects. If, for instance, the modal verb with a lexical meaning is regarded as the verb of the sentence with a valence of its own, the infinitive depending on it must be considered an object (as in German):

The child can *speak*.
Might I *smoke* here?
You must *be* back by 10 o'clock.

The infinitive is an actant whose form (infinitive) is determined by the verb (the modal verb) in the same way as the form of the noun object (basic form; preposition) is determined by the verb. In English the infinitive object after a modal verb cannot, however, be pronominalized as in German:

Must I go? *You must it.

Modern grammars of English do not, however, regard the modal verb as the verb of the sentence, but as an auxiliary, as an operator. But Jespersen considers the infinitive after a modal verb an object:"The infinitive may be the object of the verb. Without *to* this is only found after the auxiliaires *can, may, must, will, shall...*" (Jespersen 1933: 331). Jespersen does not make any difference between the lexical and the grammatical use of the modals. In my opinion the infinitive is an object only if the modal has a meaning of its own. If it only forms an analytic mood (*He must be at home now*) or tense (*He will be here by ten*), the modal and the infinitive together form the verb of the sentence and the infinitive is not an object.

2.2.9. As in German there are finite clause objects in English too. They are *that*-, *if*- and *wh*-clauses:

Everybody hoped *that he would sing*.
I don't know *if (whether) he is at home*.
I don't know *where he lives*.

The conjunction in a *that*-clause can be zero (as in German too):

He said *his name was Smith*.
(cf. Er sagte, *sein Name sei Smith*.)

If a finite clause object replaces a prepositional object, the clause in German can be preceded by a pronominal adverb:

Wir beschweren uns *darüber, dass wir schlecht behandelt werden.*
Er fragte *danach, ob er reisen soll / wer reisen soll.*

In English a *wh*-clause is preceded by a preposition on its own (cf. prepositional adverb in German), whereas *that*-clauses cannot be preceded by prepositions at all (pronominal adverb in German):

He objected *to what had been decided.*
He objected *that they had already met.*

In German a finite clause object replacing an accusative object can be preceded by a formal *es*:

Ich habe *es* gesehen, *dass er kommt.*

This is rare in English, *it* cannot normally be used this way. *It* can, however, occur in English in cases like *She made it clear that she would not accept the offer.*

2.2.10. Similarly to German, in English there are also verbs requiring two objects:

(1) He gave *the girl a doll.*
(Indirect + direct noun phrase object)
(2a) He gave *a doll to the girl.*
(Direct + prepositional indirect object).
(b) We reminded *him of the agreement.*
(Noun phrase + prepositional object)
(3) John assured *her that he was honest.*
(Noun phrase + finite clause object)
(4) John mentioned *to me that was right.*
(Prepositional + finite clause object)
(5) I told *him to come.*
(Noun phrase + non-finite clause object)
(6) I shall speak *to him about the matter* tomorrow.
(Double prepositional object)

It is characteristic of English that the direct and the indirect object can have the same form: *He gave the girl a doll.* This type of double complementation exists in German too, but it is very rare: *Er lehrte mich Französisch.* The normal type of double complementation (indirect + direct object) in German is the combination dative + accusative: *Er gab dem Mädchen eine Puppe.* In English there is also often variation between a non-prepositional and a prepositional indirect object (types 1 and 2a). This variation does not occur in German. The types (2b), (3) and (5) have two counterparts each in German, because the nominal phrase can be accusative or dative

(2b) Er erinnerte *den Jungen* an *sein Versprechen.*
Er erzählte *dem Jungen* über *den Vorfall.*
(3) Er fragte *mich, ob ich komme.*
Er antwortete *mir, dass er komme.*
(5) Er bittet *seinen Vater, ihm zu helfen.*
Ich empfehle *dir, den neuen Film anzusehen.*

Constructions (4) and (6) have similar counterparts in German:

(4) Ich habe zu *dir* gesagt, *dass ich in Urlaub fahre.*
(6) Der Forschungsreisende sprach zu *den Schulkindern* über *seine Afrikareise.*

There is one type in German which has no counterpart in English, i.e. accusative + genitive:

Er beschuldigte *den Mann des Diebstahls.*

The number of the double object complementations is smaller in English than in German. This is due to the fact that there are three German cases (accusative, dative and genitive) corresponding to the basic form (accusative) in English.

2.2.11. A few words must be added about the construction *I told him to come* (a). This class of complementation resembles the class *I liked him to come* (b). In the first case there are two objects (*him* + *to come*), in the second case there is one object (*him to come*). "In Class (a) *him* has a double function; it is the object of *told* and the subject of *come*:

I told him that he should come.

In Class (b) the whole non-finite clause *him to come* serves as the object of *liked* with *him* as the subject of *come*" (Quirk et al. 1972: 838). A similar distinction can be made in German:

Ich hiess *ihn kommen* (two objects: *ihn* and *kommen*).
Ich sah *ihn kommen* (one object: *ihn kommen*).

3. Object of the Adjective

3.1. The Object System of German

3.1.1. The object of an adjective is defined in the dependency grammar of German in the same way as the object of the verb: The object of the adjective is a valence complement or an actant of the adjective whose form (e.g. the case or the preposition) is determined by the adjective and whose pro-form is a pronoun (in the case of the object of the verb the form of the complement is determined by the verb):

Der Mann ist *des Diebstahls* schuldig (*schuldig* + genitive).
dessen.

There are also adjectives which require two objects:

Er war *dem Mädchen für das Geschenk* dankbar.

3.1.2. Normally the valence complement or actant of a German adjective is an object. There are, however, some adjectives (e.g. *ansässig, wohnhaft, begütert, beheimatet, heimatberechtigt*) which require an adverbial. As in the case of the adverbial after a verb, the preposition of the adverbial after an adjective is primarily determined by the noun (not by the adjective) and the pro-form is an adverb:

Der Mann war *in München* ansässig
an diesem Ort
**auf München*
dort

3.1.3. The form of the object determined by the adjective can be a case alone (dative, genitive or accusative) or a preposition + case:

dative: Der Sohn ist *seinem Vater* ähnlich.
genitive: Der Mann ist *des Diebstahls* schuldig.
accusative: Ich bin *alle Sorgen* los.
preposition:

an: Er ist *an dem Mädchen* interessiert.
auf: Sie war eifersüchtig *auf ihre Schwester*.
für: Das ist *für mich* äusserst wichtig.
gegen: Ich bin misstrauisch *gegen meinen Freund*.
gegenüber: Ich bin misstrauisch *gegenüber meinem Freund*.
in + accusative: Er war *in das Mädchen* verliebt.
in + dative: Er ist gewandt *in seinem Auftreten*.
mit: Ich bin *mit den Einwohnern* des Hauses bekannt.
nach: Sie war gierig *nach Obst*.
über: Er ist *über seinen Erfolg* froh.
um: Die Eltern waren *um ihr Kind* besorgt.
von: Der Mann ist frei *von Vorurteilen*.
vor: Sie ist krank *vor Eifersucht*.
zu: Er ist *zu dieser* Aufgabe fähig.

The prepositions occurring in the objects of adjectives are mainly the same as in the objects of verbs.

3.1.4. The form of the object determined by the adjective can also be an infinitive or a finite clause (*dass*-, *ob*-clause):

Er ist fähig, *sich so zu verhalten*.
Er ist würdig, *dass er ausgezeichnet wird*.

The infinitive is very seldom the only object of the adjective (the finite clause always replaces a noun object):

Er ist anheischig, *die Arbeit in drei Wochen zu vollenden*.
Er is gesonnen, *dass Angebot abzulehnen*.

Normally the infinitive and the clause object replace a noun object (e.g. *fähig* + genitive or preposition; *würdig* + genitive), above all the genitive and prepositional object. The infinitive and the clause object can be preceded by an obligatory or optional pro-form (*es* or pronominal adverb):

Er ist es müde, *dauernd zu ermahnen.*
Er ist es müde, *dass man ihn ständig ermahnt.*
Ich bin begierig *darauf, ihn zu sehen.*
Ich bin (*darauf*) gespannt, *ob er kommt.*

3.2. The Object System of English in Comparison with German

3.2.1. Also in English there are adjectives that can take a valence complementation. "Some of these adjectives must take complementation and many normally do" (Quirk et al. 1972: 264). Modern English grammars do not usually call this complement of the adjective an object, while many older grammars speak about the object of an adjective (Curme 1933: 112; Poutsma 1928: 183). In my opinion this complement can really be called an object (as in German), because its form (e.g. preposition) is determined by the adjective in the same way as the form of the object of the verb is determined by the verb and because its pro-form is a pronoun:

She was aware *of his difficulties.*
of them.

There are also adjectives which can have two objects:

I am very much obliged *to you for that.*

3.2.2. In German there are many adjectives requiring a case object (genitive, dative or accusative). In English the case object (the basic form of the noun or in the case of a personal pronoun the accusative) is very rare. It only occurs after *like* and *worth*:

He and his brother are very much like *each other.*
The car is worth *a thousand pounds.*

Some grammarians consider *like* and *worth* prepositions.

3.2.3. The number of the prepositions required by the adjectives is smaller in English than in German and also smaller than in the case of the object after a verb in English:

about: He was shocked *about his reaction.*
at: She was bad *at mathematics.*
in: She is interested *in languages.*
of: She was aware *of his difficulties.*
on/upon: He was insistent *on his rights.*
to: He is subject *to criticism.*
with: This plan is not compatible *with our principles.*

3.2.4. There are many adjectives in English which require an infinitive object. According to Quirk et al. (1972: 826), there are at least five classes of adjectives 'with to-infinitive postmodification':

(i) He is splendid *to wait.*
(ii) He is hard *to convince.*
(iii) He is slow *to react.*
(iv) He is furious *to hear* about it.
(v) He is hesitant *to agree* with you.

Only three of these classes have similar counterparts in German:

(ii) Er ist schwer *zu überzeugen.*
(iv) Er ist es müde, *dauernd zu ermahnen.*
(v) Er ist bereit, *mir zu helfen.*

There are very few adjectives in German complemented only by an infinitive (e.g. *schwer*), most adjectives require an infinitive object as an alternative of a noun object. In English there are many adjectives with *to*-infinitive postmodification as their only complementation, e.g. adjectives of class (ii) (*hard, convenient*, etc.), and adjectives of class (v) (*hesitant, reluctant*). Adjectives of class (iv) (*angry, content, glad, astonished*, etc.) usually take a noun object too:

I am glad *to see you / about it.*

In German many adjectives have an infinitive object preceded by a pronominal pro-form:

Ich bin froh *darüber, es geschafft zu haben.*

In English the infinitive object of the adjective cannot be preceded by a preposition.

3.2.5. English adjectives can also be complemented by an *-ing* -form. The *-ing* -object replaces an 'accusative object' after the adjective *worth*:

The book is well worth *reading*.
(cf. The book is worth *five pounds*)

In most cases the *-ing* -object is an equivalent of a prepositional object:

I am interested *in doing it*.
(cf. I am interested *in it*.)

The *-ing* -object is a construction which has no formal equivalent in German.

3.2.6. There are also adjectives with finite clause postmodification. The finite clause objects are *that*-clauses and dependent interrogative clauses which normally replace prepositional objects:

I am sure *that he is here now*.
The doctor wasn't sure *whether he could call in the evening*.

"*That*-clauses cannot be preceded by prepositions. Hence adjectives which are constructed with prepositions before noun phrase complements drop them before *that*-clauses... Compare the following:

I am sure *of his innocence*.
that he is innocent." (Quirk et al. 1972: 824)

The preposition is also omitted before a dependent interrogative clause:

I am not sure *if he is at home*.

In the case of the object of the verb the interrogative clause can be preceded by a preposition:

He objected *to what had been decided*.

In German the clause object is often preceded by a pronominal adverb:

Er ist dankbar *dafür, dass sie ihm geholfen hat*.
Ich bin (*darauf*) gespannt, *ob er kommt*.

4. Summary

Dependency grammar defines the object as a valence complement or an actant of a verb or an adjective whose form (e.g. case or preposition) is determined by the verb or the adjective and whose pro-form in the case of a noun object is a pronoun. The object of the verb is an object of the first rank, the object of the adjective an object of the second rank.

The object must be distinguished from the adverbial. It can be done by means of linguistic operations, i.e. by means of substitution and pronominalization. The result is that the adverbial clearly differs from the object: the adverbial is a part of the sentence whose form is primarily determined by the noun (not by the verb or the adjective) and whose pro-form is an adverb.

There are four types of objects in German and English: case objects, prepositional objects, non-finite clause objects, and finite clause objects. The main difference between the German and the English object systems is that there are three case objects in German (accusative, genitive and dative), whereas English knows only one case object ('basic object'). Hence there is no difference between the direct and the indirect object either, as there is in German (accusative and dative), if we only think of the case objects (*to*-object can be an indirect object too). The number of prepositions occurring in the prepositional objects of verbs is some fifteen in both languages. The number of prepositions determined by adjectives is smaller in English than in German. In the case of non-finite clause objects of verbs there are many classes in English (*-ing* -forms; *to*-infinitives with subject) which have no structural counterparts in German. The same can be said about the non-finite clause objects of adjectives. There are two classes in English which have no similar equivalents in German. On the other hand, it is characteristic of German that there are pro-forms or antecedents (*es*, pronominal adverbs) in the sentence referring to a non-finite clause, whereas there are no pro-forms in English and also the preposition alone occurs before an *-ing* -object only. The classes of finite clause objects do not differ from each other: they are mainly *that* (*dass*) clauses and dependent interrogative clauses. The only structural difference is that, also here, there are pro-forms preceding the clause in German, while in English the preposition is always omitted before a *that*-clause.

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ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN ESTONIAN

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The Estonian language has assimilated over 750 words of English origin.[1] The earliest borrowings date back to the beginning of the 19th century; nearly half of the total were adopted into Estonian between 1918 and 1940. Terms of sports, ship-building, navigation and technology are the largest groups, each containing over 100 items. These are followed by terms of agriculture and animal breeding (65), textiles and fashions (50), entertainment and arts, especially music (60), etc. Except for a certain number of the terms mentioned first they have been borrowed through German and Russian.[2]

The present paper examines the phonological, morphological and lexico-semantic aspects of the assimilation of the English loans in Estonian.

Estonian is a language whose spelling is almost entirely phonetical. Problems of orthography have been central in the history of linguistics in Estonia. The rules for transcribing words of English origin were first laid down by Elmar Muuk (1935). The general principle was that "the words of English origin should be transcribed, as far as the phonological system of Estonian allows it, in accordance with the spelling rules of Estonian, approximately reflecting their pronunciation in English."

[1] In this paper what are regarded as 'words of English origin' include: (1) words of Anglo-Saxon descent (*streik, vints*); (2) words of Greek, Latin and other origin to which the English has given the meaning in which they have come to be used in Estonian (*ekspress, pupp, destroier, teletaip, akvalang*); (3) some exoticisms which have penetrated into European languages through the medium of English (*kanuu, vigvam, mangroov*).

[2] Some linguists have maintained that such adoptions should not be regarded as English loans. In this paper they are still considered as such, because they are labeled as English loans also in the dictionaries of these source languages.

As a result of the fact that in the 1940's German was replaced by Russian as the chief mediator language, there have appeared some new tendencies. For instance, borrowings with [ei] in English, which under the influence of German were transcribed with *ee* (Eng. *baby* > Germ. *Baby* > Est. *beebi*; Eng. *drain* > Germ. *Drain* > Est. *dreen*) have come to be rendered with *ei* (Eng. *grader* > Russ. грейдер > Est. *greider*; Eng. *trailer* > Russ. трейлер > Est. *treiler*) or *e* (Eng. *break* > Russ. брэк > Est. *brekk*). The vowel sound [æ], which in more than 50 earlier loans was transcribed with *a* (*ballast, raglaan, tramm*) or with *ä* (*brändi, släng*), came to be rendered with *e* (Eng. *jam* > Russ. джем > Est. *džemm*; Eng. *stand* > Russ. стенд > Est. *stend*; Eng. *track* > Russ. трек > Est. *trekk*).

The spelling of some borrowings has displayed a great variety of forms ranging from zero-substitution in citation words to complete phonological and orthographical adaptation. The variation may depend on many factors, such as the manner of borrowing, the oral loans having more variants (*skylight* > *skailait, kailut, kaelut, käilut; donkeyman* > *tonkeman, tonkerman, tunkerman, tunkelman*) or the phonological difficulty of the word (*match* > *matsch, matsh, matš, mats; to stow* > *stowima, stouima, stauima, stovima, stoovima, stougima, touima*).

Palatalization of the loanwords and stabilization of their stress, usually on the first syllable, are signs of their adoption in the language (cf. Kettunen 1918:234-241, Aavik 1928, Hint 1968:7-112).

The assimilation of the English loans has not brought any new sounds into Estonian, but it has caused the redistribution of some phonemes in it. It has increased the frequency of some phonemic sequences: *nš* (*punš*), *stj* (*stjuuard*), *str* (*streik*), *skv* (*skväär*), *šr* (*šrapnell*), etc., and phoneme positions, e.g. initial *dž* (*džemper*), *št* (*start*), *sp* (*sport*), *sl* (*slipper*), *sk* (*skoor*), *sn* (*snaiper*), *šl* (*šlint*), *tš* (*tšekk*), etc., and the occurence of *o* in non-first syllables, as in *spidomeeter, ökonomaiser, tšarlston*, which are alien to the language. As the oppositions k/g, p/b, t/d in initial position are not phonetical in Estonian, the assimilation of English loanwords has increased the number of such words as are not spelt according to the phonetic principle.

Morphologically, English and Estonian have a number of features in common facilitating the adoption of the borrowings. Neither language has grammatical gender, substantives have no special ending, and there is a marked formal

similarity in some types of adjectives and adverbs. Substantives account for 93.6 %, and verbs for 4 % of the loans.[1]

The morphological assimilation of substantives depends on their semantic structure. The adaptation of a substantive containing affixes depends largely on whether and how these morphemes are identified by the native speakers of Estonian. Familiar suffixes such as *-ing* are analyzed as such, and new words are derived from the bare stem: Eng. *camping* > Est. *kämping* > *kämpima*; Eng. *spinning* > Est. *spinning* > *spinnima*. Unidentified morphemes, eg. the plural ending *-s*, are adopted together with the stem: *cake+s* > *keeks*, *coke+s* > *koks*, *drop+s* > *drops(id)*, etc. This phenomenon has been described in other languages too, for instance by Tuldava (1965) in Swedish, Carstensen (1980) in German, and Danchev (1981) in Bulgarian.

Longer words, especially compounds, are liable to de-etymologization: simplification (*let go!* > *legoo!*; *skylight* > *käilut*, shortening (*buckskin* > *pukski*; *training* > *treening* > *trenn*; *tramway* > *tramm*) or folk etymology (*goal keeper* > *kollkipper*; *lawn tennis* > *murutõnis*; *corner* > *korner* > *konnel* > *koonal*; *penalty* > *pennal* > *pendel*).

Compound words may be adopted in three ways: (a) with the importation of both/all parts (*catgut* > *kätgut*; *pitch-pine* > *pitspen*; *trench-coat* > *trentškot*); (b) with one component translated (*logbook* > *logiraamat*; *messboy* > *messipoiss*; *chance box* > *santsukast*); (c) with both/all parts translated (*bluestocking* > *sinisukk*; *foolproof* > *lollikindel*; *brain trust* > *ajutrust*; *crossword puzzle* > *ristsõnamõistatus*). There are a few cases of 'purely semantic' borrowing from English. The noun *areng* ('development, evolution'), for instance, has acquired an additional meaning 'a new event or piece of news' and is now used as a synonym of *sündmus*, especially in the register of mass media.

The conjugation of the newly acquired verbs follows mostly the i-stem patterns (*bluffima*, *startima*). With rare exceptions the loans are subjected to gradation even at their first use. As their phonological adaptation proceeds they tend to follow the weakening (or descending) pattern: *aut - audi*, *sett - seti*, *reid - reidi*, *dokkima - dokin*.

The English loans have introduced no new morphological features in Estonian. Nevertheless they have caused quantitative shifts in the existing declensions and conjugations. As the borrowings include a very large number

[1]The role of substantives has been found to be slightly smaller: 75.5 % among the English loans in American Norwegian (Haugen 1950:224) and 73.5 % in German (Heller 1966:149).

of monosyllabic words the substantives have expanded the *sex*-declension and the verbs the *õppima*-conjugation.

The English loanwords in Estonian are predominantly what are called culture borrowings, belonging at the same time to the international vocabulary (*akvalang, bluuming, farm, liiper, multš, overoolid, pikap, seif, treenima, vaier*, etc.). While increasing the total number of the words in Estonian they have filled what were previously gaps in its vocabulary. A relatively small proportion of them serve to differentiate notions which were known before (*rahvaluule - folkloor; lühimaajooks - sprint; nurgalöök - korner*). Thus, except for the latter type of words and scientific terms, they have no synonyms in the language. Some of what are called exoticisms (*dingo, džungel, hurrikaan, känguru, opossum, tomahook*) may remain in the periphery of the language because similarly to scientific terminology they have a limited sphere of use. The borrowings which are in regular use participate in word-formation. The number of words compounded with them may be unlimited, while the number of derivatives is limited by the availability of productive suffixes. The most common noun-forming suffix is *-lane* (*sportlane, pikviklane*); the adjective-forming suffixes are *-lik* (*snooblik/snobistlik, leiboristlik, gangsterlik*) and *-ne* (*huligaanne*).

A vast majority of the English loanwords have retained their semantic structure. However there are a number of words which reveal a certain amount of change, such as narrowing and specialization of meaning (*wire* > *vaier* 'steel cable'; *dress* 'sports costume'), generalization (*Singer* > *singer* 'any sewing machine'; *to strike* > *streikima* 'to function badly, to conk'), deterioration of meaning (*dandy* > *dändi* 'a ridiculous fop'; *job* > *jobi* 'hack-work'; *money* > *moni*, jocular, pejorative, perhaps euphemistic word for 'money'.

The changes, as well as participation in word-formation, are taken by many linguists to be a sign of the complete assimilation of the words in the receptor language.

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ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN ROMANIAN

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Among the external factors which contribute to the development of the vocabulary of a language, the contact with other languages plays an important part. Various achievements in the field of science and technique, and new ideas and concepts necessarily require the creation or the adoption of the terms to denote them.

Newspaper style has largely contributed to enriching the Romanian vocabulary; in the past fifteen years or so, it seems to have displayed a predilection for the use of Anglicisms.

The present paper contains some remarks on the various degrees of linguistic integration into Romanian of some recent neologisms of English origin. They are based on the study of about 140 words, collected along the years mainly from various newspapers, and not included in the latest dictionary of neologisms (Marcu and Maneca 1978) or in the latest dictionary of the Romanian language (DEX 1975).[1] However, many of them are recorded in a recently published dictionary of new words (Dimitrescu 1982).

The morphological adaptation of neologisms is generally considered to be a rapid process, more rapid than their phonetic adaptation; under the pressure of the system of the borrowing language, borrowed words tend to get integrated into some flexional class or other, by acquiring certain formal characteristics. Nevertheless, perhaps more than one half of the words in the corpus are used without any of the inflexions for number and gender characteristic of Romanian, ie. without any attempt at adapting them to the morphological system of the language.

The great majority of the words in the corpus belong to the class of nouns; the other parts of speech are rather poorly represented.

Some of the nouns which occur as morphologically unmarked are accompanied by a translation into Romanian or an explanation: eg. "lozul cel mare, jack-pot" (S.T.,8/X/1976:4); "heroină brună, cunoscută sub numele de brown sugar" (S.T.,20/IX/1976:6); "societatea drogurilor, addict society" (C.,28/I/1977:2); "fidelitate lingvistică - language fidelity" (R.L.,17/II/1977:8).

[1]For the abbreviations used, see the list of abbreviations after the bibliography.

Sometimes, the explanation given is not sufficiently clear or complete and it may misinform the reader: eg. "oameni foarte activi - bright young men" ("active men - bright young men", C.,30/XI/1970): *bright* does not mean "active", as might be deduced from the translation; "Muzica uşoară...îşi are cercul său de iniţiaţi, show business men" ("Light music...has its circle of initiates, show business men", C.,4/XII/1970): the "show business men" are not initiates in music but in the mechanism that can make it profitable.

Unfortunately, many of the nouns are used without any translation or explanation whatsoever, as if they were part of the reader's everyday vocabulary: eg. "touring club pentru educaţie patriotică" ("Touring club for patriotic education", Săpt.,24/IX/1976:4); "Nu există în Italia sandwich courses" ("There are no sandwich courses in Italy", V.S.,2/XI/1976:9); "trei coverstories" ("three coverstories", R.L.,28/II/1977:22).

The function of these unadapted nouns is frequently that of the appositive attribute; this use requires no change in the form of the English word: eg. "mesaje walkie-talkie" ("Amfiteatru",nb.2/II/1976:12); "gen hard work" (F.S.,nb.3/1977:2); "benzile low noise" (F.S.,nb.6/1976:8); "fenomenul de brain-drain" (F.D.,1982:94); "filmare travelling" (F.,14/X/1976:22); "spectacol de tip happening" (R.L.,21/X/1976:21).

It is interesting to see that most of the words that are completely unmarked morphologically are compound nouns or noun phrases.

A first timid step towards the morphological integration of the borrowed words is their use with a noun determinative, usually an adjective whose form suggests the number and gender of the noun, and sometimes its case. The adjective agrees in fact, in most cases, with the Romanian equivalent of the English word. The noun determinatives are, indecreasing order of frequency, the following:

(a) a demonstrative adjective: In Romanian, the demonstrative adjective has two inflected forms in the singular (one for the masculine and the neuter, and one for the feminine), and two forms in the plural (one for the feminine and the neuter, and one for the masculine). Eg. "acea crazy story" (R.L.,17/II/1977:17): *acea* is feminine, singular in form, and agrees in fact with the Romanian equivalent of *story*, 'poveste', which has the [+ feminine] feature; "această no man's land" (J.P.C. 1976:57): *această*, the feminine, singular form of the adjective expressing proximity, agrees with the Romanian word *ţară*, 'land', which is feminine; "acele blue-prints" (C.,27/XI/1970:5): the plural form *acele* agrees in number with the English

word, and suggests a feminine or a neuter noun; "acestui self-made-man" (F.D.1982:430): *acestui* is the singular number, masculine or neuter, genitive case form of the demonstrative adjective, etc.

(b) the adjectival phrase *aşa-numit* ('so-called'); this is followed by an English noun between inverted commas. In Romanian, when placed in front of the noun which it determines, the adjective gets the definite article, which is enclitic, and has two forms in the singular (one for the masculine and neuter gender, and one for the feminine), and two forms in the plural (one for the feminine and the neuter gender, and one for the masculine); the noun which comes after the adjective gets only the inflexion for the plural. In most cases, this agreement in number is preserved across languages, ie. when the noun phrase is made up of a Romanian adjective and an English noun: when the English noun is in the plural, the Romanian adjective is used in the plural too. Eg. "aşa-numitul <krill>" (F.D.1982:272): the writer uses the masculine/neuter singular form of the adjective, probably having in mind the native equivalent of the English word, 'crustaceu', which is classed as either masculine or neuter (masculine: singular - *crustaceu*, plural - *crustacei*; neuter: singular - *crustaceu*, plural - *crustacee*); "în favoarea aşa-numitului <flop>" (F.D.1982:215): the adjective takes the form of the genitive case, singular, masculine/neuter. The Romanian equivalent of the English word *salt* belongs to the neuter gender. Other examples are "aşa-numitul <pace-maker>" (F.D.1982:351), "aşa-numitul <wind surfing>" (F.D.1982:530) - where the adjective indicates the same gender as in the previous instances, and "aşa-numiţii <pushers>" (F.D.1982:393), where the plural, masculine form of the adjective suggests that the English word has been accepted as a masculine noun in Romanian.

(c) some qualitative adjective, which behaves in the same way as the adjectival phrase under (b). Eg. "aceste one-man-show dramatice" (F.D.1982:344): the demonstrative and the qualitative adjective have the neuter/feminine form, plural number; however, the agreement in number is not observed, the English phrase being in the singular. In "cunoscuta action-painting" (C.,12/II/1971:7), the adjective gets the singular, feminine definite article, probably by analogy with the Romanian word *pictură* ('painting'), which is feminine. The plural masculine definite article of the adjective in "tradiţionalii hot-dogs" (F.D. 1982:252) classes the English noun among the masculine nouns in Romanian. The status of the noun *building* is left uncertain by its association with the plural feminine/neuter form of the adjective in "buildings incendiate" (F.D. 1982:97).

A further step towards the morphological adaptation of the loanwords is their use with an indefinite article, which in Romanian, like in English, precedes the noun. The indefinite article *un* is frequently used; however, since it may accompany both masculine and neuter singular nouns, the gender of the English words which it accompanies remains unclear: eg. "un black-out" (C.,12/II/1971:5); "un vertiginos come-back" (C.,13/XI/1970:9); "un baby-ski-lift" (F.D.1982:77); "un thriller" (F.D.1982:498); "un thumbs-up" (P.C. 1973:52); "un bloody Mary" (N.P.C.1976:85), etc.

All the above nouns sharing the [-animate] feature are regarded by Romanian native speakers as belonging to the neuter gender; a hypothetical plural can be easily built for each of them, with the plural neuter inflexion *-uri*: eg. "black-out-uri", "come-back-uri", "thumbs-up-uri", etc.

Morphological adaptation becomes evident when borrowed words are marked morphologically by inflexions specific for Romanian or by the definite article. As long as the words are felt to be foreign by those who use them, a hyphen separates them from the article or the inflexion.

As seen from the examples given so far, the majority of the borrowed words of English origin are nouns belonging to the [-animate] category. Although in the Romanian language the neuter is considered to be less active today than the masculine or the feminine (Rosetti 1977:78; Gramatica limbii române 1963:57), these words are assimilated mainly to the neuter gender. The neuter nouns which were found to be morphologically marked can be grouped as follows:

(a) nouns used with the definite article *-ul*, which can be attached to both masculine and neuter nouns; however, we assume that the nouns are neuter since they are inanimate. Most of them have a generic sense: eg. "smile-ul fotogenic" (A.C.1977:138); "dognapping-ul este un fenomen" (F.,17/VII/1976:16); "self-made-ul îţi dă satisfacţia" (C.,28/VIII/1970:10); "thrillerul are legile lui" (F.D.1982:498).

(b) nouns used with the plural inflexion *-uri*, characteristic for the neuter gender: eg. "homeland-uri" (C.,/18/II/1977:12); "tot felul de hello-uri" (V.S.,5/X/1976:7); "remake-uri după opere" (F.D.1982:409); "suită de bluesuri" (F.D.1982:92).

(c) nouns used with the plural inflexion and the plural definite article: eg. "ragtime-urile sincopate" (F.D.1982:401); "defectele panty-urilor" (F.D. 1982:353); "au bombarat topurile" (Săpt.,14/I/1977:7); "showurile lui R.C." (F.D.1982:437).

Two inanimate nouns were found to be assimilated to the masculine gender. One is *bit*, used in the plural with the typical masculine inflexion *-i*, and the consonant alternation [t/ts] : eg. "zero biti" (C.,4/III/1977:4).

The evolution of *blue-jeans*, the other inanimate masculine noun, deserves special attention. The word occurs in the corpus in its English plural form, to which the Romanian masculine inflexion and the definite article, masculine, plural are attached: "blue-jeans-ii cumpărați" (F.D.1982:92). From *blue-jeans*, two other pluralia tantum nouns emerged in Romanian: *blugi* [bludʒ], as a result of apocope, and *ginși*, a morphological as well as orthographical adaptation of *jeans*. The two nouns are dissociated semantically: eg. "28 perechi de pantaloni blugi și 17 perechi ginși" (D.R.,1/IV/1982:3). The former denotes the blue denim trousers, while the latter, probably, the tight-fitting type of trousers, other than blue, including corduroy jeans as well.

All the other English words assimilated to the masculine gender are characterized by the [+animate] feature. They are nouns denoting male beings (eg. "groom-ul de la recepție, boy-ul de la lift", F.D.1982:464), compound nouns whose second element is *-man* (eg. "epopee a frontiermanului", A.C. 1977:102), nouns formed with the English suffix *-er*, denoting the doer of an action (eg. "grup de <rocker -i>" (C.,6/XI/1970:5); "folk-singeri" (C.,1/I/1971:6); "designerii D.I. și C.M." (F.D.1982:164), and nouns derived from English words with the Romanian suffix *-ist* (eg. "clienții lui sînt kidnapiști" (C.,16/IX/1970:10); "folkiștii" (F.D.1982:217).

As can be seen in the examples given, borrowed nouns may get the plural masculine inflexion *-i*, and are sometimes used with the plural masculine definite article as well. The use in the plural of the nouns ending in *-ist*, as well as of the orthographically and morphologically adapted [+male] nouns *bos* and *acvanaut* (<English *boss*, *aquanaut*), involves a consonant alternation ([t/ts] , [s/ʃ]) typical of plural masculine nouns: eg. "G.G., bosul boșilor" (F.D.1982:93); "acvanauți britanici" (F.D.1982:33).

Sometimes the Romanian masculine or neuter plural inflexion and the plural definite article are attached to the English plural form or plural inflexion of the words: eg. "literatura angry-young-men-ilor" (C.,17/IV/1976); "play-boys-ii miliardari" (F.D.1982:366); "Hippies-ii s-au demonetizat" (F.D.1982:249); "numărul gadgets-urilor" (F.D.1982:228); "environments-urile" (C.,6/XI/1970:6). There are cases of the English plural inflexion *-s* alternating with [ʃ] when the Romanian plural inflexion is added as if it were part of the singular form of the word (cf. Romanian *pas-pași*, *urs-urși*): eg. "lupta diggerșilor" ('the fight of the Diggers')("Cinema", nb.12/1976:17).

There are very few loanwords assimilated to the feminine gender, and each of them will be discussed in what follows. In the example "outsiderele vor avea misiuni" ("Sportul",23/X/1976:5), the noun is employed with the

feminine/neuter plural inflexion *-e*, followed by the definite article, feminine/neuter plural *-le*; there is the inclination to interpret it as a feminine noun in this particular context, where a reference is made to some *teams* (Romanian, [+feminine] "echipă"). The noun *miss*, marked as [+feminine] in English too, is used with the definite article, feminine, singular: "miss-a cu margarete" ("Cinema", nb.1/1977:20). The corpus contains two nouns derived with the feminine suffix *-istă*: eg. "tapajul bloomeristelor" (C.,5/II/1971:6); "folkistă" (F.D.1982:217). The noun *cover-girl* behaves in a rather strange way; although logically it belongs to the feminine gender, since it denotes a female being, the inflexion which it gets is one which is characteristic for a masculine or neuter noun: "fotografia făcută...cover-girl-ului" (F.D.1982:145). The noun *halfie*, derived with the suffix *-ie* from the English *half* (in football), although obviously used in connection with a man, takes the feminine singular definite article: "halfia Dumitru-Balaci" (F.D.1982:242). Finally, in the example "contribuţia mass-mediei" (D.R.,21/V/1982:1), the [-animate] noun gets the feminine definite article in the genitive singular probably under the influence of its ending (mass-media; in Romanian many feminine nouns end in *-a*).

The corpus contains several adjectives, some invariable and some agreeing in gender and number with the noun they determine; the latter group includes adjectives derived from English words and participles having an adjectival value. Some of the adjectives form their degrees of comparison after the Romanian pattern: eg. "final happy" (C.,29/I/1971:10); "Mcateer era groggy" (S.,4/IV/1970); "un spectacol foarte sexy" (F.D.1982:436); "un sunet cît mai hi-fi" (F.S.,nb.6/1976:8); "weekend bridgeistic", "manifestări bridgeistice" (F.D.1982:96); "latura lovestoristă" (F.D.1982:280); "o peliculă superlongă" (Săpt.,24/IX/1976:5); "observatori snobiţi" (F.D.1982:443); "sistem computerizar", "bibliografie computerizată" (F.D.1982:133).

There are four verbs included in the dictionary of recent Romanian words; three of them have been assimilated to the first conjugation, in *-a*, which is the most productive in the language: *a cocktailiza*, eg. "cocktailizînd replici" (F.D.1982:128); *a computeriza*, eg. "France Press se computerizează" (F.D.1982:133); *a kidnapa*, eg. "kidnapaseră pe un personaj" (F.D.1982:27L). The fourth verb is a hybrid, made up of the English prefix *self-*, which replaces its Romanian equivalent *auto-*, and the Romanian verb *a depăşi* ('surpass'): eg. "o să ne self-depăşim" (F.D.1982:64).

To conclude, it can be stated that the majority of the English words included in the corpus are taken over in their original form, without any orthographical or morphological modification; however, there are also words

which the speakers have attempted to adapt to the system of the Romanian language. Al. Graur (1968:280) points out that much of the international English vocabulary was adopted and adapted in Romanian due to its Latin origin. Even if some of the words discussed here are of Romance origin, they preserve their English characteristics and are regarded as foreign by Romanian speakers.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

(a) Newspapers:

A.C. = Almanahul Cinema
C. = Contemporanul
D.R. = Drapelul Rosu
F. = Flacăra
F.S. = Forum Studenţesc
R.L. = România literară
S. = Scînteia
Săpt. = Săptămîna
S.T. = Scînteia tineretului
V.S. = Viaţa studenţească

(b) Books and dictionaries:

DEX 1975 = *Dicţionarul axplicativ al limbii române*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei R.S.R.

F.D. 1982 = Dimitrescu, F. *Dicţionar de cuvinte recente*. Bucureşti: Editura Albatros.

J.P.C. 1976 = Crespelle, J.P. *Modigliani*. Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane.

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ON LEXIS: THE SWEDISH LEARNER AND THE NATIVE SPEAKER COMPARED

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INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

Incomplete mastery of the target language can be seen in more ways than the presence or absence of error in the learners' production. Often a piece of written English can give a non-native impression in spite of it being formally correct.

In an attempt to quantify at least part of this non-nativeness various measures of lexis have been used on the written free production of Swedish school pupils and native speakers of English of the same age.

MATERIAL

The material used for this investigation is 42 compositions in English by seventeen-year old Swedish pupils in the second year of a three-year secondary education. They were chosen at random from four different classes. The compositions were written about a series of pictures and limited by time to forty minutes.

The Swedes started English in Class 3 of the Compulsory School and now, in Grade 2 of the "Gymnasium" have been learning it for eight or nine years.

The native speaker material is twenty-one compositions written on the same subject in the same length of time by Scottish pupils of the same age as the Swedes. The compositions were chosen at random from a larger group.

METHOD

Various features of lexis were measured in the compositions written by the Swedish learners (SL) and the native speakers (NS) and the two groups were compared.

The main purpose of this paper is to describe differences between the two apart from error but a brief mention is made of the lexical errors in the Swedish pupils' writing. The measures of lexis used are as follows:

(1) Lexical Originality (LO)

This factor is slightly different for the two groups. For the Swedish learners (SL) it is the percentage of the total number of lexical words in a composition that are used only in that composition and in none of the other 41 written by the same group. For the native speakers (NS) it is the percentage of the total number of lexical words in a composition that are used only in that composition and in none of the other 42 written by Swedes or the 20 written by other native speakers. The reason for this difference is that the native speaker group is half the size of the other one and it would therefore be misleading to compare them only to others in the same group.

A high figure for LO indicates that the writer has a large and varied vocabulary as he or she has been able to use a large number of words that none of the other writers uses. It may also be the case that they have thought of an original way of dealing with the theme of the story. LO therefore indirectly measures originality of theme as well as originality of vocabulary.

$$\frac{\text{Lexical words exclusive to one writer}}{\text{Total no. of lexical words}} \times \frac{100}{1} = \text{LO}$$

(2) Conventional Syntagms, Idioms and Collocations (No. Colls.)

A conventional syntagm is defined by Marton (1977:33) as a "phrase or longer syntactic unit which is formed in accordance with the rules of lexical co-occurrence of a given language and which has a certain functional value for its users, ie. is frequently used and is not a nonce construction." An example is that *a spoilt brat* is a conventional syntagm in English while *a lugubrious octopus* is not. The meaning of conventional syntagms can usually be deduced, thus differing from idioms which can often not be deduced from their constituent parts. Bolinger (1975:100) defines idioms as "groups of words with set meanings that cannot be calculated by the separate meaning of the parts."

Kellerman (1977) deals with the transfer of idioms and says that they are part of a larger class of items which may be treated as language-specific by the learner. A language-specific item is one which the learner tends not to transfer from the source language to a target language. Language-neutral items are those which a learner believes can be transferred. The nature of the target language is important in influencing the learner's judgement of what is language-specific or

language-neutral. English-speaking pupils learning French (Kellerman 1971) sometimes treated language-neutral items as though they were language-specific and non-transferable. This was true mainly of the better learners. The others did not perceive a problem and therefore made fewer mistakes. Typically language-specific items are, among others, proverbs, slang expressions and idioms.

This is obviously an area of crucial importance for the learner and an attempt has been made to quantify the number of conventional syntagms and idioms in the Swedish pupils' compositions.

The total number of conv. syntagms etc. in a composition = No. Colls.

(3) Lexical Sophistication (LS)

To measure the level of difficulty of the lexis in the compositions, use was made of Thorén (1976), where items of vocabulary are listed giving the class at school in which Thorén advocates that the word should be taught. He has based his choice on various investigations of frequency as well as on dictionaries and has added words which are of particular interest to Swedes learning English although they may be infrequent in the language in general. An example of this is *midsummer*.

Thorén classifies the words according to whether they should be introduced in Class 4-6, 7, 8 or 9 in the Compulsory School or Class 1, 2 or 3 in the "Gymnasium". Over and above this basic level there is a group of extra vocabulary at school level (+) and vocabulary to be learnt at Teachers' Training College (x).

The total number of words at the various levels is as follows:

Compulsory School

4-6	700	(all active)
7	600	(400 active, 200 passive)
8	700	
9	700	(passive gradually becoming active)
Total	2700	(1800 active)

"Gymnasium"

1	800	
2	800	
3	800	
Total	2400	(100 active, 2300 passive, 800 of the passive words from the earlier stages

becoming active also)
Total 5100 (2700 active)

There is of course no claim made here that Swedish pupils do in fact learn words in the order suggested by Thorén. It simply gives us a standard by which we can measure both SL and NS writers to see how they compare.

The lexical sophistication or LS of a composition is the percentage of lexical words that should have been introduced in Class 9 of the Compulsory School or later, ie. including all words learnt at the "Gymnasium".

$$\frac{\text{Lex. words from Class 9 upwards}}{\text{Total number of lexical words}} \times \frac{100}{1} = \text{LS}$$

(4) Lexical Variation (LV)

Lexical Variation is basically the type/token ratio of the lexis in each composition. The figures for LV have not been adjusted for the length of the composition although there is an assumption that is easier to avoid repeating words in a short than in a long text. In this way we can see if the NS is as sensitive to this factor as the SL. In other words, is the learner more inclined to repeat items of vocabulary the longer the text gets than the native speaker is?

The higher the percentage is for LV the less repetition there is in the composition.

$$\frac{\text{Type}}{\text{Token}} \times \frac{100}{1} = \text{LV}$$

(5) Lexical Density (LD)

A study of native speakers' lexis was carried out by Ure (1971), using a measure called lexical density. This is the percentage of the total number of words in a text that are lexical words.

Texts without interaction always had an LD of 40% or higher. The expected LD for all compositions in this investigation should therefore be 40% or more.

In the category of lexical words are included nouns, verbs (excluding auxiliaries), adjectives and adverbs ending in *-ly*. Proper nouns have been included as well as the lexical verbs *be*, *have* and *do*.

LD is not affected by the length of the text.

$$\frac{\text{Lexical words}}{\text{Total number of words}} \times \frac{100}{1} = \text{LD}$$

RESULTS

Before going on to the results of the lexical analyses some brief comments will be made on the errors found in the SL compositions.

There were of course some errors in the NS compositions but these were of a negligible quantity and were mainly spelling errors.

The most frequent type of error for the SL was also spelling and only 6 of the 42 SL had no spelling mistakes at all.

The next most frequent type was lexis although the mean per composition was low, 1.6. The task given to the writers was limited to a certain extent by the pictures which forced them to use particular words to describe the situation depicted. The main point of the story was that a bald man fell in love with a girl with beautiful, long hair which he spent most of his time admiring until he found a long hair in his food. After that he changed his mind about the joys of long hair. A great deal of difficulty was caused by the word for a single hair. Swedish has one word for hair in general *hår* and another *hårstrå* for a single hair while English has only one. A large number of learners have attempted to find an equivalent for the Swedish word when talking about what the man found in his food.

SL 4 It was *a piece of Susanne's hair*.

SL 5 I hate every little *hair piece* I see.

SL 33 The years passes by and he found *straws of her hair* everywhere.

SL 31 To put a dirty *straw of your hair* in my food.

SL 37 He discovered a long, dark, discusting *hairstraw*, looking like a lost worm or a tanned spaghetti on holiday.

SL 11 Mr Brown found one (*hårstrå*) in the soup.

We can see graduation from almost feasible solutions like *a piece of hair* through direct translation from the Swedish *hairstraw* to the use of the Swedish word *hårstrå*. In the last case the learner knew there was a problem but was not willing to try to solve it by the use of an English word of which she was uncertain.

Earlier studies (eg. Johansson 1978) stressed the importance of lexical errors in affecting communication. In the compositions in this investigation errors in lexis had very little negative effect on

readers. A detailed description of the effect of errors and other factors such as LO and LS on evaluations of the compositions will be given in Linnarud (forthcoming).

It is easy to see that the wrong lexical item in a sentence without context in a test situation may well be difficult to identify. In the context of a text, either in a composition or a conversation, the difficulties are much less and lexical errors are seldom commented on by the readers when explaining their reasons for a low mark.

The comparison of the figures on the lexical counts for SL and NS show the following:

(1) Lexical Originality (LO)

The lexis of the native speaker is much more original than that of the Swedish learner:

M = mean Min = minimum Max = maximum s = standard deviation

LO

	M	Min	Max	s
SL	12.5	2.0	31.0	6.5
NS	23.4	10.8	40.2	9.1

The high figures for NS mean that almost a quarter of the lexical words they used were used only by them and by none of the other 42 SL or 20 NS. This is partly due to their more original way of dealing with the story. For them it was light relief compared to what they usually worked with in the English class and imagination has flowed. The Swedes have done their best to write an entertaining story but have stuck more closely to a description of the pictures with some notable exceptions.

The highest LO for the Swedes 31.0 is found in SL 41. The writer's approach to the story is as relaxed as any native speaker's. After finding the hair in his soup Mr Smith orders his wife to get her hair cut.

SL 41 "When his wife instead of obeying his order threw the bowl of hot soup at him the terrible thing of course happened: Mr Smith completely lost his temper and strangled her with her own hair. And that is the end of the sad story of Mr Smith and his (former) affection for hair. To the coroner he said that his wife had died of a choking fit when she got some hair in her mouth and everybody believed in him. He then left the country and became barber in Yokohama. And he was never more eager than when he might shave someone's beard off, or cut off someone's hair. And so he lived happily ever after."

The opposite end of the scale for originality is SL 20 with an LO of 2.0. The same thought is dealt with in the following way:

SL 20 "I hate that long hair of yours. Won't you please cut it off."

The difference between the two is immediately obvious to the reader.

Only SL 41 and 4 had an LO above the average for the native speakers and were both considered to be well above average in evaluations of the compositions.

LO seems to be an effective measure of both originality of vocabulary and story and quantifies part of the difference between SL and NS written free production.

(2) Conventional syntagms etc. (No. Colls.)

The difference between the SL and NS has not been quantified as the SL compositions contain very few expressions of this type. The NS compositions are full of them.

No. Colls.

	M	Min	Max	s
SL	2.7	0	14	2.9

The same two compositions that had exceptionally high figures for LO have equally exceptional figures for No. Colls. SL 41 has 14 and SL 4 has 13. The next highest figure is 6.

Some examples from these compositions follow:

SL 41 "Mr Smith *was madly in love* with the girl with the beautiful hair."

" " "*With a sigh of contentment he helped himself to* some soup."

SL 4 "Their first weeks together were spent *in true married bliss*."

"*He was thoroughly enjoying* the warmth of the sun and the clean air."

A lack of Colls. does not give rise to any problems of comprehension but definitely does contribute to an impression of non-nativeness. This is obviously an area of great importance for any learner who aspires to higher things above the basic level of communication.

Some examples from NS compositions are the following:

NS 1 "They strolled *this way and that*."

NS 2 "*The last straw* was finding her hair in the evening meal."

NS 5 "Then they went dancing until *the early hours of the morning.*"

NS 9 "The morning after the wedding Paul *got the shock of his life.*"

NS very often express their thoughts in phrases and ready-made expressions while SL express them as a series of words strung together more or less correctly to make a sentence. The SL language seldom flows with the rhythm of the native speaker because they marginally miss the right expression.

(3) Lexical Sophistication (LS)

The lexis of the NS has a significantly higher level of sophistication than that of the SL.

LS	M	Min	Max	s
SL	11.6	5.0	23.0	4.5
NS	25.4	11.0	33.0	5.1
Total	16.2	5.0	33.0	8.0

F prob .0000

None of the SL come up to the average for NS mainly because the SL use more general words.

The most native-like level is reached in SL 41 with an LS of 23. Once again SL 41 has the top figure, as was the case for LO and No. Colls.

Some examples from SL 41 follow:

SL 41 "From that day they were *inseparable.*"[1]

"*Unfortunately*[2] enough, the poor man (whose name was Mr Smith) was completely *bald*[3] himself - what a *fate*[4] for a man who is *crazy*[5] about hair."

1 ++
2 paG
3 +
4 paG
5 paG

\+ = above basic course
++ = not in Thorén
paG = passive leading to active in the "Gymnasium"

The lowest level for SL is in SL 30 which has very low figures on all lexical counts.

SL 30 "It's a very fine day in April. The sun is shining and it's rather hot. Ron is walking on the street when he suddenly sees a girl in front of him with

very long hair."

There is nothing here above the level of Class 4-6 in the Compulsory School.

The NS with the highest LS 33.1 uses the following language:

NS 15 "Boy meets girl. He on her tail like a dog *lusting*[1] after a *bitch*[2] *in heat*[3] She concentrating on being *aloof*[4] and distant, and trying to be *unaware*[5] of his presence."

1 +
2 +
3 ++
4 +
5 +

NS 15 also has high levels for LO and LV. This style may of course appeal in different degrees to different readers.

LS appears to discriminate better between SL and NS than it does between different SL.

(4) Lexical Variation (LV)

As said earlier, LV has not been adjusted to the length of the compositions. NS compositions are on average longer than SL and should therefore be affected negatively as far as LV is concerned. In spite of this their LV mean is significantly higher than that of the SL.

LV

	M	Min	Max	s
SL	66.5	44.0	86.0	8.0
NS	74.0	61.0	88.0	7.6
Total	69.0	44.0	88.0	8.5

F prob .0007

The results show that the SL repeat themselves much more than the NS.

Another interesting point is that the NS are relatively unaffected by length in their LV.

Correlation LV/No. Words in Composition

SL	-.3161	p:.041
NS	-.0932	p:.688

The SL have a negative correlation with the number of words and tend to repeat their lexis more the more they write. The difference in LV between the four longest and the four shortest compositions is 10 for the SL and only 2 for the NS.

This large difference in variation of vocabulary between the SL and the NS can be due to the learners' smaller vocabulary and inability to describe the same thing with different words. It can also be due to lack of variation in the theme of the stories written by the SL.

Naturally enough, the word *hair* was the most repeated for both groups. SL 2, who has a very low figure for LV, used it 9 times in a total of 156 words.

SL 2 "Then he sat there holding her hair and talking about her... and her hair. When the evening came, he hold her hair in front of him and he was so deeply in love. He asked her hair to marry him, and when she said yes, he kissed her hair...".

The repetition of a word or words can of course have a stylistic effect but unless the language is otherwise of a high standard it is not likely to be recognized as such. On the whole NS tend to avoid repeating themselves as far as possible even in long compositions. The SL either are not so aware of this aspect of writing or are unable to do much about it even if they would like to.

(5) Lexical Density (LD)

The two groups have similar results for LD.

LD	M	Min	Max	s
SL	42.2	33.0	54.0	3.9
NS	44.0	37.0	52.0	3.45
Total	42.8	33.0	54.0	3.8
F prob	.0723			

What is perhaps more relevant than the means for the two groups is the fact that only one NS composition had an LD below 40%, the dividing line between language with and without interaction. It contained a large amount of conversation. On the other hand, 8 of the 42 SL had an LD below 40%. In this way the SL differed from the NS.

An example of low LD is SL 3:

SL 3 "He calls for her and when she turns round he asks if they could not sit on a bench in the park together.

She sais yes, and there they are. The
talks and talks about everything."

In the above example the lack of precision of the language can be seen clearly.

In a less concrete type of story the difference between the SL and the NS may be larger. Earlier investigations (Linnarud 1975) showed that university students of English had an LD below the level of NS in written free production on a more abstract subject.

In this study LD is not useful in describing the difference between SL and NS other than in the few cases where the LD is below the acceptable figure for native speakers in a non-interactive text.

CORRELATION BETWEEN RESULTS OF THE LEXICAL ANALYSES

Swedish Learners. There is a significant correlation between LO, LS and No. Colls. for Swedish learners. They also correlate with the length of the composition. In other words, the learner who writes a long composition also tends to use words none of the other writers uses. Their vocabulary is also at a higher level of sophistication as measured by Thorén (1976) and they use a larger number of idiomatic phrases and conventional syntagms.

There is a weak negative correlation between the lexical factors and the percentage of errors in the composition. Percentage of errors is the number of errors adjusted to the length so that 5 errors in a short text would be a higher percentage of error than 5 errors in a long text. There is a significant negative correlation between the No. Colls. and the percentage of errors. It must be remembered however that the use of Colls. at all is confined to the better writers. The two SL which approached native speaker figures on all lexical counts (SL 41 and SL)4 had a much larger number of Colls. than any other writer.

SUMMARY

The results of the lexical analyses of the compositions in the corpus show that there are significant differences between the Swedish learner and the native speaker apart from the larger number of errors found in the SL writing. Some of the impression of non-nativeness experienced by the reader of the foreign learners' work is due to basic and important differences in their use of lexis.

The SL were much less original than the native speakers, partly due to lack of originality of vocabulary and partly due to variety

in their themes. NS showed much more imagination and creativity.

The language of the SL was at a significantly lower level of sophistication. They used a high percentage of words which should have been introduced into their learning process between the ages of 9 and 14, according to Thorén (1976), than the NS.

The lexis of the SL was also much less varied than that of the NS. In other words they repeated the same vocabulary items frequently. It is also interesting to note that the NS are much less affected by length than the SL and tend to avoid repetition even in longer compositions.

The SL often use circumlocution to express something for which the NS have an accepted phrase.

Only two SL reached the level of the NS in this investigation. However the fact that at least two of them did shows that it is possible if not probable that the SL can reach a native-like level of lexis. Neither of the two had spent a large amount of time in an English-speaking country but both were said by their teachers to be among the best pupils they had ever had.

These clearly quantifiable differences between the performance of the learner and the native speaker may help us to teach the more ambitious pupil more effectively. Correctness will get them a long way but the final touch will be added by a large and varied lexis.

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THE SEMANTICS OF *AVERAGE* AND *COMPETITOR*: TWO INSTANCES OF DIZZY BUSINESS OR BUSY DIZZINESS?

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The present paper[1] presents some preliminary results from an investigation into English vocabulary proficiency of first-year students at the Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration (SSE) in Helsinki (Svenska Handelshögskolan). Included is the major part of those first-year students who had English as a foreign language option,[2] which in actual fact also means the majority of all first-year students.

The investigation comprised a questionnaire with one sociological (personal) section and one language section. In the *sociological* section, students were asked to answer questions concerning the following items (variables):

- years of English at school
- additional studies of English after leaving school but before entering SSE
- school result in English (grade) on the school-leaving certificate (long-term evaluation)
- school result in English (grade) on the matriculation certificate (short-term evaluation)[3]

1 An earlier version of this paper was read at the Linguistics Days at Turku-Abo, 9-10 February 1980.

2 The investigation was carried out at the beginning of the first term. Alongside with the two national languages (Swedish & Finnish), two foreign languages (English, French, German, Russian, or Spanish) are compulsory with five points (= 200 hours of study) in each as a minimum. By far the great majority of any batch of first-year students take English as one of their compulsory options.

3 The so-called 'studentexamen', which roughly corresponds to the British GCE A-levels.

- mother tongue (Swedish, bilingual, or Finnish)
- school background (Swedish or Finnish school)
- work experience where English had formed a substantial part

In the *Language* section, students were presented with fifty (50) different sentences in which one item (word) was underlined (cf. below). They were asked to 'translate' this into Swedish or Finnish (according to their own choice).[4] At the same time, they were also asked to indicate (by a cross in a box) how certain they felt in their 'translation' (certain, relatively certain, or uncertain). Only in case they had no idea of the meaning of the word were they asked just to leave a blank.

The test was given to the students in connection with a teaching hour, and the time allotted was one hour.[5]

The texts were chosen from three books, written in English, on the reading list for the second year of studies (set books), and the books represent different areas of economic studies (economics, marketing, and business administration). In the selection, the following criteria were particularly taken into account (to the extent possible):[6]

- the lexical items to be 'translated' should *not* have a specifically or exclusively economic character (i.e. not be part of the specific trade vocabulary or jargon only);
- they should, as such, be of rather high frequency, as judged by experience, in any general kind of text on everyday general affairs;

[4] Both languages were used, also by the same individual.

[5] Very few students sat the full hour (= needed it), and no student asked permission to exceed it.

[6] In the economic subjects, students are normally not required to read books or material in English in the first year, as practically all the literature in these subjects is written in Swedish or, to some extent, in Finnish. During that year students are likely to meet material in English only in English as a subject (i.e. within that option). In the second year the situation changes, and the books included in the investigation thus constituted the first books in English that the students were to encounter in the economic subjects. The effects are twofold: (a) students are to a certain extent likely to come up against economic terminology in English before they do so in Swedish; (b) English, as a subject, will to some extent suppiy these students with a basis for their studies in economic subjects. This also forms the background for the selection criteria applied in the investigation.

- they should thus form part of what might be considered a core vocabulary of an intelligent reader of newspapers, journals, or magazines in English such as a businessman;
- a lexical item under investigation in one sentence should not (if possible) recur in another sentence;
- the contexts (sentences) should be 'normal', of normal length, and give no direct, or obvious, clue to the meaning of the lexical item to be translated.

It is thus worth noticing that the test operates with lexical items in real (i.e. not constructed) contexts which will become real (i.e. they form part of set books that cannot be escaped or evaded by the students) to the students in their studies in economic subjects. Their mastering of the meaning (message) of such lexical items, of such texts, will thus not only govern and influence, but decide, their acquisition, and hence mastering, of the economic realities. In other words, this process will have a decisive influence on their careers as people in business.

It can of course be argued that the students, most likely, will have a better command of these items, of these realities, at their graduation after four years of studies than they have at their entrance (cf. eg. Peltonen 1979). True enough, since this is the whole purpose of their studies. But the fundamental question still remains: where do they stand when they embark upon such studies, and what mazes is their position then likely to cause (and hitherto, very little, if anything, is known in this area[7]). This question can be considered as all the more relevant as the students passing the SSE entrance exam have a very good overall school result average[8] and also a very good school result

[7] Peltonen (1979), sprung from my seminar at the Helsinki School of Economics in 1977, is one of the first studies undertaken along these lines.

[8] Thus, over the last few years, 75-80% of the intake have been 'magna or laudatur students' (grades: approbatur, lubenter approbatur, cum laude approbatur, magna cum laude approbatur, & laudatur).

average in English[9] (cf. Table 1). In the confrontation with all the new subjects (and virtually all other subjects but English, and possibly also the second foreign language, plus, to some extent, statistics, are subjects new to the students, i.e. subjects not known from school), the students run the risk of misjudging and miscalculating[10] their situation as regards English with possible detrimental long-term effects.[11]

The position of these students may be said to import 'decision-making on the basis of limited resources'.[12] These resources (Table 1) appear as less limited for females (over males)[13] and for Finnish background (over Swedish background).[14] The purpose of the present paper, and of the investigation as such, is to shed light on aspects of this position as well as on aspects of the decision-making and its operations.

9 Thus, the average result in English has been roughly the same as the overall average over the same period of time. The present population shows an average in English of 4.4 (magna = 4, laudatur = 5) on the matriculation certificate, and 8.1 (grades: 5 - 10) on the school-leaving certificate.

10 Thus, eg. students' requests for exemption in English (either completely or partially) are not infrequently heard by teachers in the English Department on the grounds, when at its worst, that "I can English".

11 Thus, despite the very good school grade generally in English, results from another vocabulary proficiency test unequivocally (and regrettably) show that these students compare unfavourably with students elsewhere at the same level in a cross-Scandinavian comparison (cf. Zettersten 1979): whereas a 'normal' result at first-year university level is ±65 scores (out of a total of 120), SSE students typically achieve only ±48, as an average, with ±65 as the average of the best quartile only (results forthcoming, Påhlsson). The data available suggest a Finnish profile in this respect (cf. Påhlsson 1980).

12 This is analogous to the ultimate objective (goal), by law, for the new four year degree studies at SSE.

13 Another indication, it would seem, of the frequently alleged greater mind for languages in women.

14 This is hardly surprising, considering the entrance background for the two categories: whereas students from a Swedish school are entered on the basis of their school-result and the entrance examination result, students from a Finnish school also have to pass an entrance proficiency test in Swedish. Thus, in order to be entered, Finns, as a group, are likely to represent a higher average here (1979 percentages for those admitted in relation to those applying for admission: Sw. = 51.8%, Fi. = 18.9%).

Table 1. Distribution of the population over long-term & short-term school results in English accoriding to sex & mother tongue.

	approbatur	lubenter	cum laude	magna cum	laudatur	N = 133
5			.8 1 7			.8 1 7
6		2 3 2	.8 2	5 8 7	.8 1	8 12 7 4
7	.8 1	.8 1	11 15 20 5	5 4 7 7 11	4 6 7	22 28 33 13 22
9			3 4 2 (11)	8 5 20 13 11	17 22 11	29 31 20 26 22 (11)
9			.8 1 (11)		31 22 33 44 33 (44)	32 23 33 44 33 (56)
10					9 5 15 22 (33)	9 5 15 22 (33)
	.8 1	3 4 2	17 22 27 9 11 (22)	18 17 33 20 22	62 56 40 69 67 (78)	101 100 100 (100)

Explanation:

a
b d
c (f) e

a = percentage of total population
b = -"- of male population
c = -"- of female population
d = -"- of bilinguals from Swedish school
e = -"- of -"- from Finnish school
f = -"- of Finns (mother-tongue & school: Finnish)

approbatur etc. = matriculation certificate grades
5 - 10 = school-leaving certificate grades

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In what follows, two out of the fifty lexical items will be looked into, viz. *average* and *competitor*.

The frequency of occurrence for *average* is at least 50 per million and not so many as 100 per million words in Thorndike and Lorge, 519 in the Lorge Magazine Count of nearly a million words (in Thorndike and Lorge), 16 in the Brown University Corpus - Press Reportage of nearly 90,000 tokens (running words) or c. 12,100 types (different words) (in Zettersten 1978). Its 'core' position (cf. the selection criteria above) is thus unambiguous.

The corresponding figures for *competitor* are: 10 in T&L, 47 in LMC, and 2 (in the plural as here, cf. below p. [illegible]; the fig. f. the sg. is 1) in the BUC-PR. Thus, in comparison, this item, while still being very much central to a core vocabulary, has a noticeably lower frequency in these counts.

A somewhat different pattern with respect to frequency of occurrence for these two items is presented by the following figures from the Brown Corpus (Press Reportage) count:

average	- ø	16
	- s	3
	- ing	2
compet	- ition	8
	- itive	4
	- ing	3
	- itors	2
	- ed	1
	- itor	1

AVEPAGE

"By studying the distribution of the sizes of orders it was then possible to determine the *average* dollar loss"

Contextual meaning: *genomsnittlig*

The context is short, and the syntax simple. Semantically, the sequence is clear, with a potential support in *distribution* (Sw. = *fördelning, distribution*). A semantically appropriate interpretation of the lexeme may, however, be made somewhat complicated by its position as a modifier.

The degree of *certainty* was *very high* (2.6). As many as nine respondents in ten answered with a fair amount of certainty, and it will be noticed that no less than three-quarters did so with complete certainty. One in twenty felt uncertain, and the proportion of respondents who did not know is even smaller. In one case no entry was found. (Cf. Table 2.)

(3) C :	73.1%
(2) RC:	17.9%
(1) U :	5.2%
(0) ∅ :	3.7%

The degree of *accuracy* was (*very*) *high*. One answer in eight turned out as non-acceptable (12.7%). Of these, three in ten constitute non-answers. Approximately six in ten go with a fair amount of certainty, and only one in nine is connected with bottom certainty. (Cf. Table 2.)

C :	23.5%
RC:	35.3%
U :	11.8%
∅ :	29.4%

As many as 87.3% of the answers could be considered acceptable. The degree of certainty with which the overwhelming majority of these were entered was high. Only one acceptable answer in twenty was produced with uncertainty.

C :	80.3%
RC:	15.4%
U :	4.3%

The *correlation* between degree of certainty and degree of accuracy is *positive*, albeit not very strongly so.

C :	4/98	4.1%
RC:	6/24	25.0%
U :	2/7	28.6%

The dividing line runs between top certainty and less than top certainty. In this case, then, intermediate goes with bottom certainty.

Table 2.

AVERAGE - Non-acceptable entries in semantic clusters.

N = 15 Average certainty: *fairly high* (2.3)					
Semantic cluster	N	Degree of certainty	Cert-y score	N	% of tot. N
1 APPROXIMATE			(2.4)		
ungefärlig	4	CC R U		- 5	(33.3%)
- cirka	1	C			
2 MIDDLING			(3.0)		
medelmättig	2	CC		- 4	(26.7%)
- medelmätt	1	C			
- medelmättlig	1	C			
3 COMMON			(2.0)		
vanlig	2	RR		- 3	(20.0%)
- allmän	1	R			
4 Miscell.			(1.67)		
sammanlagd	1	R		- 3	(20.0%)
stor	1	R			
kommande	1	U			

Explanatory note:

C (score = 3) = certain
R (score = 2) = relatively certain
U (score = 1) = uncertain

The *semantic* patterning[15] of the non-acceptable answers shows the existence of two general categories where presence of some kind of semantic affinity correlates positively with degree of certainty.

Thus, the cluster MIDDLING (26.7%) is associated only with top certainty, and it also displays the closest semantic affinity with the lexeme (which in the case of the non-existing made-up noun *medelmått* is so close as to bridge the line non-acceptable - acceptable to the extent that it is even debatable whether a classification as non-acceptable is altogether justifiable in this case). The cluster APPROXIMATE (33.3%) represents a much more remote semantic affinity, and it is also accompanied by a weakened average certainty, which is still high, however.

The cluster COMMON (20.0%) stands even further away semantically, and the respondents may be said to have felt this as their perceived certainty is clearly lower here. In the rest of the cases (20.0%) very little of an affinity is left, if any at all, and a further reduction in certainty is observed.

15 Here, answers classified as non-acceptable have been grouped together, according to how they associate on a dimension of meaning, into semantic clusters. In so doing, we may better survey the areas of meaning involved in the operations. In generalizing in this way, we shall have to accept, however, (a) that the members of a cluster may stand semantically very close, or may reveal a gradual shift so that the two ends of the scale stand semantically rather apart; and (b) that the intended meaning of the sender (informant) cannot be ascertained from looking at the clusters alone: i.e. whether or not he was able to grasp the conceptual idea as such ('content') but could not find the word ('expression') for it. This need not worry us. It shows (a) that the decision-making process implies a course of approximation with a better or a worse fit in a communicative context; and (b) that the pragmatic aspect is very much in the forefront in these operations and their evaluation, involving not only a sender (here: informant) but also a message transmitted and a receiver (here: evaluator).

The correlation just noticed may be further qualified when the social characteristics of these respondents are looked into. (See Table 3.) Certainty and semantic affinity are then seen to correlate positively with school performance. The same pattern also holds true for these respondents as a group in comparison with the population as a whole, for they exhibit a slightly weaker performance (if only by a fraction). Two clusters represent a school performance which is (in one case noticeably) higher than even that of the population as a whole: MIDDLING & APPROXIMATE, which are the clusters (as we have seen above) with relatively good semantic affinity and high certainty.

Table 3.

The social characteristics of the respondents for AVERAGE.

	Sex		School-res.			Mother-tongue			School	
	M	F	Yrs	M-c	S-c	Sw	Bil	Fi	Sw	Fi
Overall av.	58.5	41.5	7.3	4.4	8.1	70.0	18.5	11.5	85.2	14.8
Average here	46.7	53.3	7.5	4.3	8.0	73.3	20.0	6.7	93.3	6.7
MIDDLING	25.0	75.0	7.5	4.5	8.8	75.0	-	25.0	75.0	25.0
APPROXIMATE	40.0	60.0	7.6	4.6	8.2	60.0	40.0	-	100.0	-
COMMON	33.3	66.7	7.0	3.7	7.3	66.7	33.3	-	100.0	-
Other	100.0	-	8.0	4.0	7.3	100.0	-	-	100.0	-

The figures further show that there is also a positive correlation with the degree of Finnish influence (over the three categories for Mother-tongue and the two categories for School-language): the higher the Finnish share, the higher the certainty and the better the semantic affinity. It is as if these respondents, in spite of their longer studies and their better result, still fell somewhat short of the mark. In what follows, we shall show that this is part of a pattern. Before we do this, however, it should be observed that another factor co-varies positively with Finnish influence, viz. female sex. Within the two general semantic categories observed (MIDDLING, APPROXIMATE vs. COMMON, Other), separately, there also seems to exist a positive co-variance with certainty and semantic affinity, and female sex. In fact, this seems to be so to the extent that when certainty and semantic affinity are at their weakest, only males are represented - males who have had more English than the others.

Although the accuracy score is high, this does *not*, however, mean that *average* presented no problems to the students - not even when respondents with non-acceptable answers are excluded and only respondents with acceptable answers are included. Rather than being altogether categorical, the division between what is acceptable and what is not in fact appears as rather gradual. This has been illustrated above, but it also seems to be the case at the point where the two meet: at one level it stands out more as an encounter, but at another level its character is void of any absolute border-line. Thus, in relation to English and Swedish here, Finnish may be seen as representing the intervening area.

A closer look at the answers classified as acceptable revealed the following variants:

1. *Genomsnittlig* (genomsnitt-, genomsnitts) = 33.6%
2. *Keskimääräinen* (keskiverto, keskiarvo) = 12.3%
3. *Medeltal* (medel-, i medeltal, medeltals; medeltala, medeltalig) = 54.1%

A majority have chosen a variant which, as a *noun*, not only makes sense but also fits (i.e. is altogether appropriate), but which, as a *modifier*, still makes sense but does *not* fit. In this case it is awkward in the extreme. To what extent the choice here is due to a disregard of the function of the lexeme in the context cannot be established, but nor can it be ascertained to what extent the choice depends on a desire to avoid a difficulty. Judging from the rest of the material in this case and as a whole, we have very little reason to assume any disregard, on the part of the respondents, to constitute the explanation for the choice made. It rather seems likely that other factors will have been influential.

Structurally, Sw. *genomsnittlig* and Fi. *keskimääräinen* are identical: both are formed from a noun (*genomsnitt* & *keskimäärä*) with the addition of a normal and common adjectival suffix (*-lig* & *-inen*). Semantically, however, they are *not* analogous: in Sw. the word is composed of *genom* (= Eng. *through*) + *snitt* (= Eng. *cut, incision*) (cf. Germ. *Durchschnitt*), both occurring as separate individual words; whereas in Fi., the corresponding word is composed of *keski* (Eng. = *middle, central*) + *määrä* (Eng. = *number, amount*), which also occur as individual words. A correspondence, structural

as well as semantic, *does* however exist between Swedish and Finnish in the two *nouns*: Sw. *medeltal* (= *medel*, Eng. *middle*; + *tal*, Eng. *number*), and Fi. *keskimäärä* (cf. above). Now, as we have seen above, *medeltal* (etc.) was exactly the variant chosen by a majority of the respondents. The mediating influence of Finnish is further enforced through the partly ingenious (from the point of view of linguistic creativity) and partly abortive (from the point of view of Standard Swedish) attempts to construct adjectives where no adjectival forms exist (*medeltala* & *medeltalig*). The material revealed the share of bilinguals to be particularly strong in these attempts (60%).

We have come full circle when we add that Fi. *määrä* may also mean Sw. *mått* (= Eng. *measure*). A misdirected combination will then easily yield *medelmått*, *medelmåttlig*, *medelmåttig* and the like (cf. above; = Eng. *middling*) in the belief that these Swedish words actually correspond to Fi. *keskimääräinen* (Sw. *medelmåttig* = Fi. *keskinkertainen*). The matter is further complicated (although we may not necessarily assume that this should have been the case with these respondents) by the fact that, as a noun, Sw. *medelmåtta* may mean either *average* (probably less frequent) or *person below the average*, i.e. *a mediocre person* (probably more frequent), whereas, as an adj., Sw. *medelmåttig* means only *passable, mediocre, middling*.

A small minority did not understand the word, while a clear majority understood it. A small section amongst the *minority* apparently comprehended the term but, while confident of the opposite, produced a TL counterpart which is not apposite (strictly speaking, it is even misleading). Approximately half of the *majority* had obvious difficulties in finding a functionally suitable or proper equivalent. Half of the majority (thus constituting a minority of the population as a whole) had no problems in producing a contextually appropriate translation. This is a clear case of inconsistency between active skills assumed to be good and passive skills assumed also to be good.

COMPETITOR

"The final component of the core marketing system consists of *competitors*"

Contextual meaning: *konkurrent*

The context is short, and the syntax simple. Semantically, the sequence presents no intricacies. A potential support may be seen in *marketing* (Sw. = *marknadsföring, marketing*), and a potential distractor in *component* (Sw. = *led, komponent*) giving the sequence an abstract touch.

The degree of *certainty* was *high* (2.5).[16] Three-quarters answered with complete certainty. Including those who answered with reasonable certainty, we find that a good eight in ten of the respondents felt rather certain in their replies. Two in fifteen were uncertain, and as few as one in twenty-seven did not know. In one case no entry was found.

(3) C :	74.6%
(2) RC:	8.2%
(1) U :	13.4%
(0) Ø :	3.7%

The degree of *accuracy* was *high*. Two answers in thirteen turned out as non-acceptable[17] (15.6%). Of these, almost one-quarter constitutes non-answers. Well over half, or close to six in ten, are linked up with bottom certainty. Approximately one in twenty goes with a fair amount of certainty, which most often means top certainty. (Cf. Table 4.)

C :	14.3%
RC:	4.8%
U :	57.1%
Ø :	23.8%

16 While the certainty scores for *competitor* and *average* are almost identical (2.5 & 2.6), and while the percentages for top certainty are also almost identical (74.6% & 73.1&), we may notice that the percentages for relatively certain and uncertain in *average* have become almost reversed here (17.9%/8.2% & 5.2%/13.4%). This shift from relatively certain to uncertain here may possibly reflect, to some extent, the difference in frequency of occurrence observed earlier.

17 Similarly, in spite of the difference in frequency of occurrence, the figures for acceptable and non-acceptable answers are almost identical (*average*: 87.3%/12.7%). The two items differ noticeably, however, on the distribution of non-acceptable answers over certainty categories in a way that may reflect the difference observed in frequency of occurrence.

A good eight in ten of the answers (83.7%) have a character which justifies a classification as acceptable (cf. below, however). By far the great majority of these are associated with high certainty. Only one acceptable answer in twenty was produced with uncertainty.

C :	85.8%
RC:	8.8%
U :	5.3%

The *correlation* between degree of certainty and degree of accuracy[18] is clearly *positive*, with a very distinct dividing line between bottom certainty and more than bottom certainty. In this case, then, intermediate goes with top certainty.

C :	3/100 3.0%
RC:	1/11 9.1%
U :	12/18 66.7%

The *semantic* patterning of the non-acceptable answers shows two general categories (cf. Table 4):

1) *agents or subjects* (clusters COMPETENT, PARTICIPANT, & CUSTOMER), constituting the minority of such answers, or 43.8%;
2) *non-agents or objects* (clusters COMPUTER & COMPLEMENT) constituting the majority of such answers, or 56.3%.

It will be noted that the context is of little assistance in this respect. True, the technical abstract nature of the text will make an assumption of the second kind seem more plausible to somebody who does not know the lexeme, particularly when such an assumption may be supported by a combination of sound-similarity and a semantic link erroneously supposed to be there between the lexeme and what goes before: *component, system, & consist*. This will also mean, however, that the suffix *-or* cannot very well have been sufficiently well known to these respondents as an agent suffix. If they did not know the meaning of the lexeme, they were thus not helped on to the right track by the suffix either.

In the *agent* clusters (COMPETENT, PARTICIPANT & CUSTOMER) a varying degree of semantic affinity is disclosed. They were all produced with bottom certainty, however.

18 Again, we may notice a difference in actual behaviour of the population with respect to the two items: while the percentages are very similar for top certainty (3.0% & 4.1%, respectively), at the intermediate certainty level the fewer in *competitor* were more correct than the more numerous in *average*. Similarly, the pattern is reversed at the bottom level: the more numerous in *competitor* were much more wrong than the fewer in *average*. This may be another reflection of the observed difference in frequency.

Table 4.

COMPETITOR - Non-acceptable entries in semantic clusters.

N = 16 Average certainty: *Low* (1.4)

Semantic cluster	N	Degree of certainty	Cert-y score	N	% of tot. N
1 COMPUTER			(2.0)		
dator	3	CC U		- 7	(43.8%)
- datamaskiner	2	C R			
- "datamaskiner"	1	U			
- räknemaskin	1	U			
2 COMPETENT			(1.0)		
kompetent	1	U		- 3	(18.8%)
- asiantuntija	1	U			
- någon l. något som förstår	1	U			
3 PARTICIPANT			(1.0)		
deltagare	1	U		- 2	(12.5%)
- utövare	1	U			
CUSTOMER			(1.0)		
kund	1	U		- 2	(12.5%)
- köpare	1	U			
COMPLEMENT			(1.0)		
komplement				- 2	(12.5%)
- täydentävä osa	1	U			
- osatekijä	1	U			

Explanatory note

C (score = 3) = certain
R (score = 2) = relatively certain
U (score = 1) = uncertain

In the *non-agent* clusters (COMPUTER & COMPLEMENT) no semantic affinity can be seen whatever. In the first case (COMPUTER), however, which is the case most strongly "supported" by the context (cf. above), the average certainty was nevertheless relatively high. (2.0).

The *social* characteristics of these clusters are given in Table 5.

Table 5.

The social characteristics of the respondents for COMPETITOR.

	Sex		School-res.			Mother-tongue			School	
	M	F	Yrs	M-c	S-c	Sw	Bil	Fi	Sw	Fi
Overall av.	58.5	41.5	7.3	4.4	8.1	70.0	18.5	11.5	85.2	14.8
Average here	62.5	37.5	7.0	4.2	8.0	62.5	31.3	6.3	81.3	18.8
COMPUTER	42.9	57.1	6.9	4.0	7.6	71.4	28.6	-	100.0	-
COMPLEMENT	100.0	-	7.5	5.0	9.0	-	50.0	50.0	-	100.0
COMPETENT	66.7	33.3	7.7	3.7	8.0	66.7	33.3	-	66.7	33.3
PARTICIPANT	50.0	50.0	7.0	5.0	9.0	100.0	-	-	100.0	-
CUSTOMER	100.0	-	6.0	4.0	7.5	50.0	50.0	-	100.0	-
("agent"	71.4	28.6	7.0	4.2	8.1	71.4	28.6	-	85.7	14.3)
("non-agent"	55.6	44.4	7.0	4.2	7.9	55.6	33.3	11.1	77.8	22.2)

The most typical characteristic of these respondents, in comparison with the population as a whole, is the very high proportion of bilinguals, with a Finnish bias. These respondents do not differ essentially from the general average in terms of school-result. They tend to have had somewhat less English, however, and they also tend to be males.

With respect to the *agent - non-agent* polarity, no difference is observed as regards numbers of years of English or school result. A very obvious and striking difference presents itself as regards sex and mother-tongue (school), however: the *agent* respondents are typically males and Swedes, whereas the *non-agent* respondents tend to be females and bilingual or Finns.

In the *non-agent* category, females, in particular, have produced answers where sound-similarity, supported by an erroneous semantic association, has been most at play (COMPUTER). To the extent that they are bilinguals, they all have a Swedish school background. They have had less English and have been less successful in their school performance. The Finns and the Finnish bilinguals, on the other hand, have typically had more English and have done considerably better at school, but they

can hardly be said to have produced more appropriate answers here (COMPLEMENT). Only superficially does such an answer present a better contextual fit. Exactly for that very same reason, it is also more deceptive, however. It should therefore be observed that in producing a non-sensical answer such as COMPUTER with a fairly high perceived certainty (2.0), the female Swedes are in a worse predicament than the male Finns, who, after all, show some realism when, in producing an answer (COMPLEMENT) that makes at least some (admittedly wrong) sense, they felt sceptical about it (1.0).

In the *agent* category, a positive correlation exists between school result and female sex: the higher the proportion of females, the higher the school result, and vice versa. Thus, the males here may typically have been less successful at school than the females, but they are nevertheless in the majority in producing answers which, although not acceptable, still exhibit not too impossible a semantic affinity with the lexeme. One might thus argue that the males, although not as 'good' students, still typically did better than the females in this case (no difference in certainty was recorded; cf. above).

The degree of accuracy was found to be high for this lexeme: *competitor* (cf. above). The statement needs some qualification, however. A closer survey of the material showed that, of the answers classified as acceptable, one in four (25.7%) is of a non-technical nature, i.e. other than *konkurrent* (Fi. *kilpailija*). This is thus yet another case where the respondents could understand the text rather well (accurately but not appropriately), but where they, surprisingly often, had difficulties in giving a proper Swedish rendering of the word. Their passive knowledge was thus better than their active performance. Among these renderings we find *medtävlare* (51.7%), *tävlare* (20.7%), *tävlande* (17.2%), *medtävlande* (3.4%), all of which mean *contestant* and the like, and *tävat* (6.9%).

By far the great majority of such answers are associated with top certainty, something which, on the other hand, should not surprise us, considering the general distribution found above (p. 15). The figures also show, however, that we would be wrong in assuming such answers to be more or less exclusively linked with low certainty.

C :	79.3%
RC:	10.3%
U :	10.3%

We are justified, however, to argue that such answers are more typical of low certainty in relative terms, as is clearly shown by the

C :	23/97	23.7%
RC:	3/10	30.0%
U :	3/6	50.0%

figures for such answers in relation to the total number of acceptable answers for each level of certainty.

Who are these respondents? A look into the material revealed the statistics given in Table 6.

Table 6.

The social characteristics of the respondents for COMPETITOR.

	Sex		School-res.			Mother-tongue			School	
	M	F	Yrs	M-c	S-c	Sw	Bil	Fi	Sw	Fi
Overall av.	58.5	41.5	7.3	4.4	8.1	70.0	18.5	11.5	85.2	14.8
Non-acc. av	62.5	37.5	7.0	4.2	8.0	62.5	31.3	6.3	81.3	18.8
CONTESTANT	75.0	25.0	7.6	4.5	7.9	82.1	14.3	3.6	100.0	-
COMPET. (Sw)	55.6	44.4	7.4	4.5	8.2	86.4	9.9	3.7	93.8	6.2
COMPET. (Fi)	40.0	60.0	7.3	4.4	8.9	-	40.0	60.0	-	100.0
COMPET. av.	53.8	46.2	7.4	4.5	8.3	76.9	13.2	9.9	83.5	16.5

First, COMPETITOR includes, relatively seen, more females. They tend to be Swedes, but the 'pull' seems to be stronger with the Finns in relative terms (60.0%). They, and in particular the Finns, have done better at school than the rest. They also tend to have a Finnish school background somewhat more than the rest (although the difference is small). We also observe a very strong tendency for Finns to answer in Finnish and for Swedes to answer in Swedish. Indeed, COMPETITOR (Fi) was never entered by Swedes, whereas, on the other hand, COMPETITOR (Sw) was entered by bilinguals and Finns, too, even when they had a Finnish school background.

Secondly, CONTESTANT is exclusively a Swedish answer in terms of school background. It is also very much a male answer. They have had more English, have done equally well on the short-term evaluation, but have been less successful on the long-term evaluation.

It would not have been altogether unreasonable to expect that CONTESTANT should have been produced typically by bilinguals, assuming a direct influence from Finnish: the Finnish word *kilpailija* has both the technical meaning of *competitor* and also the non-technical meaning of *contestant* and the like, whereas the Swedish counterpart *medtävare* etc. is used only in the non-technical sense. The hypothesis would

then have been that such a result might be seen as a direct effect of operating in two languages indiscriminately and in a fairly equal proportion.

The hypothesis would be disproven in this case, however. The proportion of bilinguals in CONTESTANT does not essentially differ in a way that would justify such a hypothesis. Instead, we shall have to assume such answers to reflect more of an indirect influence from Finnish on part of the Swedish-speaking respondents - particularly where the school-result was somewhat lower and where the certainty perceived was also weaker (cf. above). Thus, more of English did not help when the result was weak and the certainty was weak. In view of the results as a whole, it may be argued that a possible indirect influence from the third language (Finnish) would possibly seem to support a passive understanding of the text (= positive influence on passive ability) in the foreign language (English), but weaken a contextually proper rendering of the text (= negative influence on active ability) in the mother tongue (Swedish), in cases where the term has got a wider semantic extension in the influencing (third) language and can therefore be used indiscriminately in a non-technical as well as in a technical sense: the effect would thus be a blurring of the relation of correspondencies between SL (English) and TL (Swedish).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In contrast to other much more dramatic cases of a much less merciful nature in the material,[19] these two cases are rather mild. Even so, however, they will lend support to arguments such as:

- not only acceptability (in comprehending, rendering, translating) but also self-perceived certainty is essential for operations in a foreing language;
- acceptability and certainty will often show a relatively good co-variation, but will not necessarily coincide, and will not infrequently show a striking divergence;
- a population will normally place itself semantically not on a binary scale (wholly wrong vs. wholly right) but rather on a continuum (more or less) with respect to semantic affinity in TL as compared to SL;
- a first-language and a second-language will be drawn upon by the individual in his attempts to understand a text in a foreign language and to render it adequately in either of these;
- in so doing, his attempts will sometimes be made more easy, sometimes more difficult with respect to adequacy;
- the adding of specific meanings to the general semantics of already known lexical items and the subsequent correct mastering of them poses particular problems in the learning process for individuals where such knowledge is required, not only with respect to the lexical item as such but also as a reflection (repercussion) on the whole content of a particular text.

19 Eg. *asset*: certainty score = .5, no-entry = c. 75%, accuracy: 8.9%; *capital-abundant*: certainty score = 1.5, no-entry = 8.3%, accuracy: 50.4%, entry 'capitalist' 28.8% & entry 'capital-poor' 16.9% of non-acceptable answers; *demand*: certainty score = 2.7, no-entry = c. 3%, accuracy: 72.6%, entry 'claim' c. 45% (score 2.7) of non-acceptable answers; *proceeds*: certainty score = 1.2, no-entry = c. 32%, accuracy: 0.0%, entry 'progress' (score 1.9) 31%.

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CHAIN COMPOUNDS - ANGLICISMS IN FINNISH?

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Chain compounds of the type *off-the-record statement, a man-of-the-people president, kill-or-cure methods* are fairly common in the English of journalism as well as in the language of technology (eg. *interrupt-service routines, end-of-scan outputs, through-the-lens viewfinder*).

The structures are basically syntactic collocations, ie. 'compounds' with an internally syntactic base. They have been transferred or separated from their original syntactic environment and transformed into units with a meaning of their own which is not necessarily the sum of the parts. In the process the basic form may have become slightly simplified (eg. through the loss of articles and prepositions); the change can be either temporary or permanent if the structure is lexicalized.

On the whole, chain compounds can be said to be on the borderline between syntax and lexis. They are often also style markers which arouse mixed feelings among commentators.

Chain compounds started being noticeable in English journalism at the end of the nineteenth century (cf. Whatmough 1957:223). This type of word-formation has, however, been used much longer, but the end of the last century seems to have been a kind of turning point in their history when their aptness, especially for journalism, was noticed. This can be seen, eg., in the stylistic resentment and disapproval of dubious modernisms (=Americanisms) that their use caused. Two quotations from the *OED* will illustrate the point:

(1894) *Daily News* "Why, then, should Lord Salisbury sharpen his faculties and keep them, as the odious modern phrase is, *up to date*?"

(1897) "The *up-to-date* reader, to use a vile slang phrase of the present day, does not much care about classics."

Today chain compounds are more or less normalized expressions and are scattered along a wide stylistic scale from useful everyday words (*middle-of-the-road, do-it-yourself*) to playful nonce constructions (*haven't-I-met-you-somewhere routine*). And as was pointed out above, they have also proved useful for terminological purposes, for instance,

in the English of technology. As Potter (1966:179) remarks in *Our language:*

> He (the vigilant observer) sees a disregard for those inherited limits which determine word-categories, and he sees a yet more extensive use of grammatical conversations or functional shifts. Word order is becoming ever more significant as the determining factor in sentence structure.

There are quite a few lexicalized chain compounds in general English. Here are some examples. Long established nouns are eg. *would-have-been* (18th century), *man-in-the-street, also-ran* (19th century). *Work-to-rule* and *go-slow* date from the present century. *Up-to-date, down-to-earth, off-the-peg, devil-may-care, do-it-yourself* (the noun *do-it-yourselfer* is also used), and *matter-of-fact* exemplify lexicalized adjectives. From *matter-of-fact* we have also the derivatives *matter-of-factly, matter-of-factness.*

Chain compounds have been considered a thoroughly English phenomenon. According to Jespresen (1956:14), they would be "inconceivable in such languages as French, where everything is condemned that does not conform to a definite set of rules laid down by grammarians". Vitonite-Genene (1964:22) claims that premodifying chain compounds are a strictly modern English construction, which does not exist in other Indoeuropean languages. These opinions need some revision because chain compounds do appear in other languages as well, eg. in German (das vertrauliche *Unter-Männern-Herr-Leutnant-Gespräch*, Wandruszka 1968:247); Waren auch Sie früher ein *das-darfst-du-nicht-Kind?*, Schmitz 1972:38), in Swedish (denna *in-i-döden-förakt*, "Vi låt ta honom som han är" -böcker), and in French (une "poésie" ...du marchand-de-ballons ou du *clown-qui-regoit-des-coups-de-pied-aux-fesses-mais-qui-a-un-cœur*, Frenzl 1965:277). They are also familiar from Finnish journalism (Elokuvan *mikä-oli-todistettava-tehtävä*, joitakin *"puoleenautaseen-päin-naamaa -ideoita"*).

It must however be noticed that in the above languages the conceptualization of chain compounds seems to differ from that in English. In English the attributive chain compound is almost without exception seen as an independent unit which is also orthographically signalled and separated from the head word. In the same way, the premodifying parts could be separated from the 'foreign' examples above. A different head noun would be quite possible, say, in the Finnish examples - elokuvan *mikä-oli-todistettava funktio/sanoma/päämäärä/tarkoitus/asenne*, etc. or *puoleenautaseen-päin-naamaa -jaksoja/kohtauksia/komiikkaa/tasoa*, etc. On

the other hand, the vacillating orthography in the different languages may also mean that the status of the chain compound in the whole noun phrase is not so well established as in English. It has been suggested that English chain compounds could be partly based on French patterns (une allure *fin-de-siècle* - an *end-of-the-century* mentality, Mutt 1976) and also on German, where heavy premodification structures are popular (cf. Crean 1969). The last claim is probably incorrect and the opposite direction is more likely, at least in the case of modern expressions (cf. Frenzl 1965, Schmitz 1972, Knobloch 1978).

How, then, and from where have chain compounds come into Finnish? Present-day English is an analytical language with a minimal number of endings and seems thus an ideal subject for a syntactic-synthetic type of word-formation. In Finnish, word-class conversions are much less easy, and also in other respects Finnish would seem to provide a very badly fitting frame for chain compound constructions. And yet they seem to have become established in Finnish journalism, advertising language and also in fiction thanks to their descriptive and impressionistic qualities. They are obviously also a fad which has its good and bad moments and is in danger of becoming a mannerism in expressive use.

In the following, examples are given where the English touch can be easily seen. Sakari Määttänen's book *Tapaus Jakobson* from 1973 is a good source of eccentric examples, Määttänen's style has been clearly influenced by that of American journalism. Määttänen worked as a correspondent in the USA several years and was still living in New York when the book was published. It contains so many chain compounds that the reader cannot fail to notice them as a style marker. In the first group, the premodifier and the head are seen as a whole (the orthography is from Määttänen throughout):

He ovat New Yorkin rahaylimystön näyttelyvieraita, juorupalstojen hoitajien *aina-tarjolla-olevaa-aineistoa*. (p.159)

.... ja kompastuivat ei suinkaan keski- ja sitä seuraavan sukupolven itsestään selvänä pitämään *Moskova-määrää-Suomen-toiminnat-ajatteluun* raan... (p. 16)

... minne vieraat kutsutaan *kuka-kukin-kaupungissa-on-kirjan* ja tulojen mukaan. (p. 139)

In the second group, the chain compounds seems to form an independent unit, where no separate premodifier can be discerned (ie. the English type *law-and-order* or *man-in-the-street*):

Mutta molemmille on yhteistä *laki-ja-järjestys* muodossa jos toises. ... (p. 19)

... ei mitään suurempia operaatiota ... tavallista *linjaan-ja-lepo-vuoroon-taakse*. (p. 32)

... kehittämään me-tunnelman, joka haihtuu *takaisin-tavallisissa* ympyröissä. (p. 42)

In the third group, the chain compound has been seen as a separate modifier and has been transferred to apposition:

Suhtautuminen *me-olemme-täällä-tehtävämme-suorittamassa* oli vallalla. (p. 33)

SDP:n kansanedustaja Ralf Friberg kirjoitti 18.2.1972 tyyliin *haluan-minäkin-sanoa-sanasen* "Tapaus Jakobson":... (p. 162)

... ja Yhdysvaltain Moskovan suurlähetystö vastaanotti telex-sanomia: *jos-me-vaikutamme-voitollisilta-mitä-esteitä-Neuvostoliitto-asettaisi*. (p. 213)

In the last group, the chain compounds are used as independent premodifiers unless they are "misprints":

Sen lisäksi olivat *vuoroin-vieraissa-käydään* edustamiset. (p. 137)

Hän oli teroittanut Ylioppilaslehden *vaikutus-väittely-painavasanaiseksi* julkaisuksi... (p 85)

Määttänen is, however, not the only one who is fond of this stylistic means. It is fairly easy to find other examples in journalism. The orthography is not consistent and several systems are in use. A quick look at different guide books on how to write good Finnish shows that the phenomenon has been recognized and that the premodifying chain compound is usually considered a compound phrase that should be united with the head by means of a hyphen, eg. *Kesko esittäytyy -julkaisu* (Konttinen 1978:361), *minä-meillä-määrään-asenne* or *'minä meillä määrään' -asenne* or *minä meillä määrään -asenne* Raekallio-Teppo 1973:79; see also comments in Ikola 1974:161, Itkonen 1982:26). Penttilä's comment (1963:91) that chain compounds are relatively rare is the only one that I have seen on their occurrence in Finnish.

The following examples come from various sources and it is not easy to determine whether they are anglicisms or not.

Journalism:

Suomen Pankki lopetti "*rahat pöytään -määräyksen*. Helsingin Sanomat 1.9.79)

Kouluissamme on aivan liian paljon *Kaikki-eivät-opi-kaikkea-opettajia*. (Helsingin Sanomat 14.11.79)

Samanlaisessa "*asiat ratkaisevat, eivät ihmiset*" hengessä voitaisiin keskustella myös muista poliittisista, taloudellisista ja yhteiskunnallisista ongelmista... (Suomen Kuvalehti 27.5.83)

From the radio:

Kissingerin *askel askeleelta* -*politiikka* (cf. step-by-step)

... päivittäisen *ruoka-annos per nuppi* -*hinnalla* ...

From fiction:

(Eeva Kilpi, *Naisen päiväkirja*, Porvoo 1978)

Olen väsynyt; "*verensokeri alhaalla*" -*tunne* niin fyysisesti kuin psyykkisestikin. (p. 131)

... ei "*näin oli parasta*" -*ajatus* pyyhi sitä kokonaan pois. (p. 167)

From advertisements:

osta ja säästä päivät

Perinteet ovat tässä maassa melkeinpä pyhiä. *Tiedä-koska-perustetut* käsityöpajat toimivat edelleen... (about Britain!)

Similar, parallel constructions can be noticed when the name of a programme or a campaign has been placed in premodification:

Kättä päälle -*sopimus*

Omaan asuntoon -*opus*

"Tänään kotona" -*ohjelma*

Romuttuuko perhe 80-luvulla -*seminaari*

"Juhannus kuivaksi" -*kampanja*

Earlier a form with postmodification would have seemed more natural.

A look at the above examples indicates that some chain compound types fit rather well into Finnish whereas others try to find limits of linguistic tolerance. Anyway it seems that chain compounds have come to Finnish and are accepted as a borderline case of word-formation.

This can be seen eg. in translations from English that started emerging in the late 1970's in translation exercices at Turku Language Institute:

... to the *back-to-basics movement* - "*takaisin perusasioihin*" -*liikkeelle*...

Nice to be Near -"*mukavaa olla lähellä*" -*ihmisiä*

a purely *'leave it to experts' attitude*
1. *jätä homma asiantuntijoiden hoidettavaksi asenne*
2. *antakaa asiantuntijoiden hoitaa* -*asenne*
3. *asenne jätä-se-asiantuntijoiden-huoleksi*
4. *pelkkä "luotetaan asiantuntijoihin asenne"*

If the translations were criticized the argument was that that is how you say these things nowadays.

Stylistically, chain compounds move in a dangerous area. When used in moderation they can liven up the style and sound original. When used in excess they easily become a boring mannerism. In English their frequent use has often been criticized as substandard journalese (cf. Foster 1970:208). The critics are right in the sense that many chain compounds make the impression that they have been created in a hurry, the writer has not had enough time to think out his ideas and formulate them more exactly. Instead he has resorted to a direct colloquial expression and transferred it as such to an indirect written context where it may seem somewhat out of place. The resulting chain compound is often intentionally vague and its interpretation often depends on extralinguistic knowledge or associations. On the other hand, a chain compound may be a very effective means of creating the right atmosphere in the context. In English, at least, they seem to be more colloquial in content than in use.

In addition to stylistic factors, the popularity of chain compounds in English is probably due to the categorizing function of premodification. According to Bolinger (1952:1136), the classifyirg quality may have led to the creation of many odd expressions, eg. *heavier-than-air craft* or *an under-the counter sale*. The alternative *a sale under the counter* refers to an incident not to a class as the version with premodification. Perhaps we can say the same about some Finnish constructions, eg. *verensokeri alhaalla* -*tunne* vs. *tunne [että] verensokeri [oli] alhaalla*.

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ASPECTS OF PERCEPTION IN LEARNING SECOND LANGUAGE VOWEL QUALITY

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INTRODUCTION

The role of perception, often emphasized in explaining the processes of first language learning, is largely neglected in second language teaching, although fortunately enough it has recently been revived in contrastive phonetic analysis and is based upon empirical, perceptual research. The results show the inherent perceptual transfer features in the performance of Finns when perceiving Swedish. From this point of view, the study is an error analysis focused upon the time of zero competence in the target language. A series of identification tests were carried out with naive Finnish-speaking listeners, who were asked to identify the systematic allophones of Swedish vowels in monosyllabic words in term of the eight Finnish vowel phonemes. Contrasting parts of sound systems in this way is reasonable on the grounds that the superficial and hasty nature of certain phonological or other contrastive analyses is, or has been, prone to give rise to criticism against contrastive analysis in general. It is necessary to penetrate into the physical and psycho-physical facts of sound detail in the languages contrasted. I am convinced that contrastive *phonetic transfer* predictions are valid to a very high extend in interlanguage production and perception. Phonetic *letter contrasts* are irrelevant for predicting transfer phenomena in the learners' interlanguage, but this should not be used as an argument against contrastive analysis as a method for investigation of language contact.

HOW TO ELICIT THE INHERENT TRANSFER OF VOWEL SYSTEMS IN CONTACT

An attempt is made here to obtain adequate information on transfer at the point of zero control of the target language, ie. to determine the inherent psycho-physical differences between the vowel systems of Finnish

and Swedish. An identification test involving the Swedish systematic vowel allophones (20 to 22 phonetic qualities) administered to native speakers of Finnish makes it possible to pinpoint the vowel qualities which are problematic for Finns. The identification test was carried out with Finnish-speaking school children aged 11 to 13 who knew no Swedish. The material consisted of monosyllabic Swedish words of the structure CV(:)C(:), including the 20 to 22 Swedish vowel allophones. The examples were produced by speakers from four varieties of Swedish, those spoken in Finland (FISV), the Stockholm area (STH), the north of Sweden or Norrland (NLD), and the south (SSW). The recordings were played to Finnish school classes in Oulu, with 23 to 32 pupils each, with each group of listeners having one series of 90 stimuli to judge. They were asked to categorize the vowel sounds in terms of the phoneme units of the Finnish vowel system, using the vowel letter symbols of the Finnish orthography. In this respect, as in many others, the orthography of Finnish is strictly phonemic.

Certain issues discussed in this paper were elucidated further by means of perceptual tests with synthetic speech (for the procedure see Määttä 1982).

THE ISSUES

Before dwelling on the actual categorization data, a demonstration is given of what sort of information is provided by a typological vowel system contrast of this kind. The Swedish and Finnish vowel phoneme systems are shown in Figure 1. The defective nature of the prediction that it is

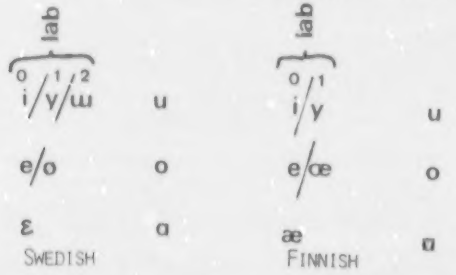

Figure 1. Phonemic vowel systems of Swedish and Finnish. Degrees of lip rounding are marked by figures above the symbols for the phonemic category, 0 standing for speech lip position, 1 representing "out-rounded" lips, and 2 indicating a lip position with "inrounding".

only the phoneme /ɯ/ that is the source of problems for a Finn learning Swedish vowel phonetics, in terms of both production and perception, is more than evident for any learner or teacher of Swedish as a second language. Even systems with identical phonemic units bear differences on the sound level of language, and the predictive value of mere phoneme system contrasting for the obtaining of information on pronunciation (and perception) didactics is further reduced by the fact that languages also differ in the distribution of their sound segments, and can indeed be rich in highly different allophones. With this in mind it is perhaps valuable to note that there is a lot of evidence in the phonetic literature that perception and production are to a substantial extent allophonically determined (see papers on "Coarticulation" in Lass 1974). Three issues are presented below for consideration when dealing with the present data on identification confusions:

(1) What can the misidentifications of different Swedish allophones reveal about the nature of Swedish vowel sounds against the background of the native perceptual capacities of a Finn? What information is conveyed by the confusions?

(2) Are the identifications based on certain systematic differences between the vowel systems of Swedish and Finnish, ie. is there some systematic way other than phonemic in which the vowel systems differ?

(3) How are the differences between varieties of Swedish reflected in the responses given by the Finns? What relevance do these differences have for the teaching of pronunciation?

INTERPRETING IDENTIFICATIONS

A graphical representation of the results of the identification test is given in Figure 2. A procedure for teaching upon the system equivalents was gone through, in the sense that certain identifications must be preferred over others simply on the basis that the representatives of a certain sound unit in the stimulus language should be identified as the system equivalent of a certain one in the response language. Thus, since Swedish has a unit /e/, for instance, the least possible perceptual transfer is revealed by the /e/ reactions in the identification process of the speakers of Finnish (see Figure 1). This principle enables us to decide whether an individual judgement is "right" or "wrong". The fact that the eight vowel units correspond in the systems of Finnish and

Swedish gives us a frame within which even the qualitative relationships of the realizations of the units can be judged. Arguing along these lines, it must be maintained that nothing can be "right" for the Swedish sounds [ʉ:], as in *hus* 'house', and [ø] as in *hund* 'dog', rigorously speaking, as they lack phonetic equivalents in Finnish. This method does provide information about their allocation within the Finnish vowel space, however, which is a main goal of this type of perceptual study.

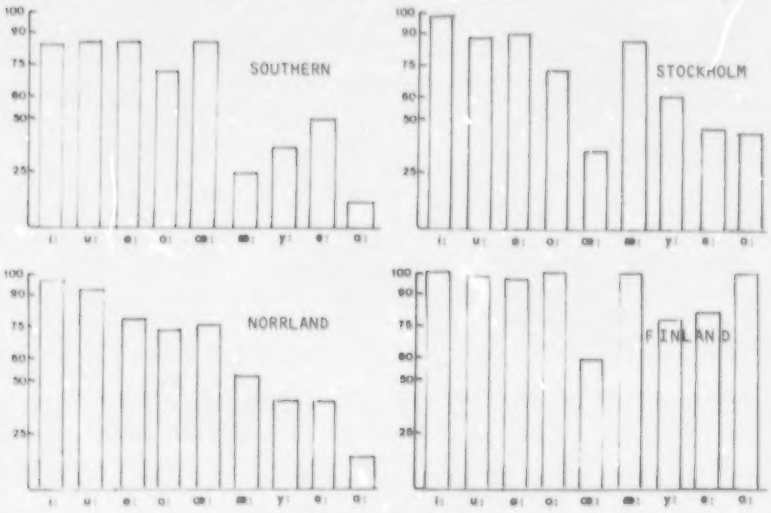

Figure 2. Percentages of correct identifications of Swedish systematic vowel allophones in different varieties by native speakers of Finnish.

Despite the apparent equivalents of the systems, "incorrect" responses are frequent for certain Swedish sounds. The errors are, in the last resort, at least as informative as the actual identifications. The identification results may be roughly classified by setting up arbitrary borderline percentages. The achievement of 75 % correct identifications seems to be a suitable boundary value for problematic vs. unproblematic perception of the sound in question. Group identifications below that value are at the same time indicative of hindered or slowed-down neurophonetic processing of the sound values (cf. Aaltonen 1982). Sounds with lower identification percentages require longer processing time. Apart from the slow-down transmission, any contrastive phonetics study could be argued to be marginally useful or even redundant. Linguists with an

emphasis upon context as a pan-explanatory force could maintain that the physical form of the expression is redundant, only hints or small cues about the content being relevant. This view is very alien to the pursuit of contrastive phonetics and phonetics in general, since the cues are language-specific and far from random. If identification of the cues is lower than 75 % cross-linguistically, as judged by native listener of the response language will then very probably encounter decoding problems with message, transmitted in the stimulus language. This lengthening of the time required for decision-making cannot fail to be relevant to L2 learning, especially for listening comprehension. The present results point to some 3-6 allophonic units that are below this critical value (Figure 2). The identification percentage of 90 % is chosen here as a boundary value for optimal identification. Even in interlanguage perceptual tests momentary inattensiveness can cut down identification scores by 5 or 10 %, and thus any identification that exceeds 90 % shows ideal or near-to-ideal processing conditions for that sound feature.

DISCUSSION

To find solution to the first issue, we shall observe the confusion matrix in Table 1, which represents the identification of the Swedish sounds [e:]. Although the majority of the identifications lie in the column of correct judgements, a great number of deviating identifications

Table 1. Confusion matrix for the identifications of SW [e:] as perceived by Finnish listeners.

PERCEPTION / PRODUCTION		/e/	/ie/	/i/	/ca/ /eä/	/ei/	?
FISW	I	66	21	13			
	II	97		3			
STH	I	24	41	32			3
	II	77	7	14			2
NLD	I	30	39	28			3
	II	53	6	10	15	15	1
SSW	I	75	1	12		12	
	II	27	20	19	24	4	6
MEAN % EXCL FISW		48	19	19	(7)	(5)	3

also occur. The identification /i/ indicates the greater closeness of the Swedish [e:] as compared with its Finnish counterpart, something that is not surprising in the least for one who works in the field of teaching or stydying Swedish. But this is not the whole truth about the contrastive quality of the Swedish [e:] . Many diphthongal judgements were also recorded, the most frequent being /ie/ and /ea/. These are also indexes for Swedish "[e:] " in the ears of Finnish listerners. The direct conclution can be drawn here that in order to pronounce (and also perceive) Swedish with the least interference between sound qualities, a Finn should adopt something of these indexes into his/her neurophonetic processing of Swedish. In other words, the results show a need for an appropriate way of diphthongizing and closing the vowel "[e:] ". Words like *sed* 'habit' and *leda* 'lead' should be more aptly transcribed with vowel symbols [i·^{e}] in order to be indicative of the Swedish contrastive quality for a Finn. This is how the greater perceptual acuity of a speaker of Finnish could be utilized in acquiring the vowel quality in pronunciation. The *second issue*, concerning the contrastive systematics of the phonetic differences between Swedish and Finnish, other than those implied by contrasting the phonemic systems, can be discussed by first considering Table 2. An excellent example is offered by the contrastive quality of the Swedish [y:] sounds. Almost all of the mishearings show a rounding feature to be missing from the response. Is this the result of an illadministered test, or is it indicative of coherent contrastive quality differences? The latter is definitely the correct interpretation. since the Swedish [y:] is essentially different from its Finnish counterpart

Table 2. Confusion matrix for the identifications of SW [y:] as perceived by Finnish listeners.

PERCEPTION / PRODUCTION		/y/	/i/	/e/	/iy/ /yi/	/ie/	/ea/	?
FISW	I	80	19	1				
	II	77	21	2				
STH	I	64	32	2				2
	II	58	38	3				1
NLD	I	27	73					
	II	57	33		4			6
SSW	I	48	47	2	3			
	II	25	43	6	14	5	5	2

in certain articulatory, acoustic and contrastive-perceptual respects. A crucial test with synthetic speech was conducted and the results are illustrated in Figure 3, where attention is called to the differing divisions of the vowel space for high vowels in the two languages. The Swedish [y:] sound tends to come over to the border values between the Finnish [y:] and [i:] . A great number of vowel timbres ideally categorized as Swedish /y/ are realized to be ambigous for a speaker of Finnish. The division of the vowel space along the dimension of closed dark/light vowels is manifested in terms of acoustico-perceptual criteria, so that the Swedish [ʉ:] not only occupies an otherwise empty space along the dimension, but also applies a certain push effect upon other units along this dimension. Thus the physical qualities of [y:] are further drawn towards lighter timbres and the [u:] qualities again toward darker timbres, as compared with the manifestation of an otherwise identical system of categories.

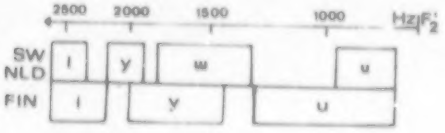

Figure 3. Division of the perceptual space of high vowels in Swedish (NLD = Norrland variety) and Finnish, as indicated by F_2' values (Fant 1959).

The *third issue*, the *role of language varieties* from a phonetic and perceptual point of view is illustrated by two details of perceptual difference with respect to the Finnish-speaking informants. The first concerns their identification of the [ʉ:] sounds of Swedish as spoken in Sweden and the [ʉ:] sounds used in Finland. Even though sosiolinguistic and psycholinguistic arguments may interfere with any discussion on teaching one variety of Swedish or the other to second language learners - questions that are dealt with comprehensively by Loman (1979) and Nyström (1981) - the differences should not be passed over or neglected in the teaching of the pronunciation of Swedish to Finns. There seem to be weighty reasons, at least in the teaching of pronunciation and perception, for taking these variety differences into account by means of phonetically adequate descriptions in contrastive terms, and by ensuring suitable teaching resources within the university curricula.

The more commonly used phonetic variety of Swedish in Finnish schools being that spoken in Finland, the other varieties are far less, or even minimally, known at the time of leaving school. For a learner of Swedish as a second language the phonetic effects of variety deviations are drastic enough. A learner who feels that he is able to use the variety spoken in Finland with fair fluency may be baffled by a new communicative barrier in context of oral communication with Swedes. The language spoken in Sweden is only to some extent related to the Swedish spoken in Finland from phonetic point of view. This failure to introduce Finnish learners to the varieties spoken in Sweden is mainly, as far as can be seen, a question of tradition.

PERCEPTION / PRODUCTION		/u/	/o/	/y/	/ɪ/	/ö/	/yu/	/öy/	?
FISW	I	83	7	3			7		
	II	85	9	6					
SHT	I			96					4
	II			94		3			3
NLD	I	2		96					2
	II	2		96				/yö/:2	
SSW	I	6	2	66	13	7		4	2
	II			65	15÷3÷2	8	/yi/:3	2	3

Table 3. Confusion matrix for the identification of the Swedish representatives of the phoneme /ʉː/ (also marked by /ʉ:/ as perceived by Finns.

Going back to the actual differences between varieties, Table 3 shows how the [ʉ] used in Finland is identified in over 80 % of cases as the Finnish phoneme /u/, whereas its counterpart in central and northern Sweden, [ʉː], is identified as /y/ in over 90 % of cases. The outcome of the test suggests that, while [ʉː] and [ʉ:] represent the same phoneme unit in Swedish, coming only from different varieties of the language, they are totally different sounds in physical terms and appear totally different to a Finnish listener. Perceptual substitution employs different Finnish phonemes and, accordingly, different articulatory manoeuvres should be used when the learner is aiming to produce the two regional variants. Perceptually speaking, the two different divisions of the perceptual space that are required from the Finnish learner are as follows:

(1) perceiving [ʉː] correctly is conditioned by a new-division of the Finnish [y:] block in the perceptual space, and

(2) perceiving [ʉ:]correctly is conditioned by a new-division of the Finnish [ʉ :] block in the perceptual space.

To what effect do the phonetic variations function in the language learning process? A totally new perceptual code must be adopted by a Finnish learner of Swedish when crossing over from the one variety to the other.This is evident from the fact that a learner's control of other level of language (lexical, morphological, syntactic, and even sosio-contextual and socio-semantic) usually fails to give him sufficient support to decode messages under the conditions of severe perceptual shortcomings. The results of the identification test with natural stimuli were corroborated by experiments with synthetic speech /Figure 4.) The overlap of the areas of the variants, [ʉ:] and [ʉ:] , is indicative of the language-specific harmony between the varieties of Swedish. The total areas for the category /ʉ/ / ɯ/ in Swedish, the non-diffuse area, practically the same in the two varieties (see Määttä 1982), and consequently a Swedish-speaking Finn, with Swedish as his first language, does not experience any radical difference between the regional allophones (for 50 % boundary zones of identification, see Määttä 1982).

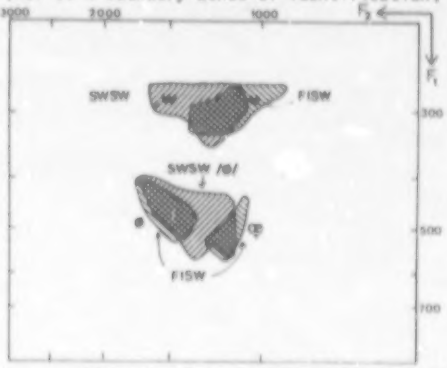

Figure 4. Perceptually optimal areas (90 % identification or more) in the acoustic space of F_1/F_2 of the regional variants of the phoneme /ɯ:/ as perceived by speakers of the Norrland variety of Swedish in Sweden (SWSW) and Swedish as spoken in Finland (FISW). Cf. the distribution of areas of the phoneme /ø/ in the two varieties.

The second detail concerns the identification of the Swedish vowel sound " [æ:] ", which occurs in the environment before /r/ (Table 4). A different division of the language varieties is manifested in this case, and the differences between those of Finland and Sweden are not

so well-defined. It is a prominent feature of some Swedes not to pronounce this vowel with a low quality, while the Finnish and Swedish [æ:] timbres in Finland seem to coalesce in their openness.

Table 4. Confusion matrix for the identifications of the Swedish representatives of the phoneme /æ/ before /r/ as perceived by Finns.

PERCEPTION / PRODUCTION		/ä/	/e/	/ea/ /ea/	/ö/	/a/	?
FISW	I	100					
	II	100					
STH	I	96				4	
	II	79	12		7	2	
NLD	I	85	4		9		2
	II	22	47	25		5	1
SSW	I	17	54	18	10		1
	II	33	17	35	9	3	3

The two examples of the identification of [ɯ:] and [æ:] show how contrastive sound quality can vary greatly between varieties of one and the same language. The examples also show what the expectations of Finnish-speaking learners of the Swedish language are like in phonetic terms. Something to consider is the fact that the confusion matrices look very different when the test input is produced in various *standard varieties* of the language

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Three issues are discussed in this paper:
(1) the relevance of confusion matrices from contrastive perceptual tests for describing contrastive sound qualities;
(2) the contrastive distribution of the vowel space and the divisions within it, as compared with the information provided by the contrasting of conventional phonemic, or even phonetic, symbols; and
(3) the question of phonetic language variation within standard limits.
In conclusion, these issues may be evaluated on the basis of the fragments of research presented above. Firstly, teachers of a foreign language should be more keen on acquiring, and also providing students with, unprejudiced information about contrastive sound qualities. Various methods used in contrastive and experimental phonetics may

prove helpful in this respect. Secondly, the nature of the relevant sound feature should be studied in greater detail than by choosing phonetic symbols alone to represent the sounds of the languages. In vowel studies, for example, the divisions within the vowel space could be taken as guidelines in determining contrastive quality where possible. It seems risky to determine the phonetic symbols for vowels independently in the respective languages contrasted. Instead, contrastive information should be collected from different empirical sources to serve as data for the didactics of pronunciation and, if likely to be needed, to coin suitable symbols to represent objects of contrastive study. Thirdly, more attention should be paid to standard regional and social variation in listening comprehension at all levels of language teaching, and in connection with university language teaching in particular. In order to make the student's phonetic production more uniform, teaching of the phonetic varieties which the learner is likely to encounter should be made more explicit at the university level. The perception of features of language variation is a capacity that should be aimed at in the teaching process, while an individual learner's production should be phonetically consistent in a given communication situation.

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